

The

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THE INTERRELATION OF SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY¹

THE happily increasing output of social history has produced much comment on the new garb which the historical muse is assuming. Since adopting the habit of the flapper and making her appeal to the tabloid reading public, Clio is no longer preoccupied with presidents, congresses, court decisions, and the like. She is now concerned with mobs, crazes, fads, Jesse James, P. T. Barnum, the fabulous 'forties, the gay 'nineties, and a thousand other such things. To this modern Clio constitutional history may seem "mid-Victorian", and therefore hopeless. But looking more closely one finds that social history is not a new thing (Macaulay's third chapter, for instance, is one of the finest passages in social history that we have); and that it is not Clio alone that has been watching the modes. With increasing emphasis political scientists are now stressing the note of correlation with the findings of sociology, economics, psychiatry, psychology, and kindred fields. Any scholastic treatment of government as a static, inflexible thing resting upon an abstract conception of sovereignty is out of tune with prevailing scholarship among political scientists themselves.² The social historian is himself a sign of the times. He is undergoing a tendency which manifests itself also in political science, in literature, in art, in philosophy, and in the human studies generally. Naturally one asks what will be the reaction of these social studies upon civil history. It is the view of the present writer that this reaction, which has already appeared, is favorable, and that political history has much to gain from these social correlations.

Constitutional history, as understood in this paper, is not merely the history of a constitution. It is not constitutional law, which is a specialized and technical subject for lawyers. It does not resolve

¹ This paper was read in part at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Indianapolis, Dec. 28, 1928.

² An introduction to current political thought is to be found in C. E. Merriam and H. E. Barnes (eds.), *A History of Political Theories: Recent Times*.

itself into a justification of everything that has been done under a constitutional label. One should not read into constitutional history a consistency and harmony that is not there. The constitutional historian should be best able to reveal legal fictions, to expose constitutional follies, and to criticize the anomalies and abuses that come within the field of his inquiry. He examines civil processes as the biologist examines living cells; and his function is to observe critically and study objectively civil and governmental data. He must bring to his task the scientific skepticism and the careful critique of modern historical research. Besides statutes, proclamations, resolutions, decisions, and other "strictly constitutional documents", he will need to explore a wide variety of sources which illustrate the drift of social philosophy and the direction of social influence. Constitutional history is no subject for a legalist. It is no subject for one whose interest in the forms of law blinds him to the essential forces that work through law.

Political and constitutional history can not be adequately treated apart from their social and economic bearings. "Politics", as Woodrow Wilson has said, "can only be studied as life."³ It is no longer sufficient to follow Austin in defining law as the command of a sovereign. One might better define law as order in society, and think of legal development in terms of an evolutionary process by which rules of human conduct are developed and obeyed not because a sovereign requires it, even though that sovereign be the people, but because such obedience is engendered by the practical necessities of social relations, so that disaster attends communities in which such obedience does not exist.

Even in treating such a topic as the interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court, the legalistic method breaks down. The Supreme Court does not merely apply logical rules of construction to the instrument of 1787. The court has its rules of construction, to be sure; but they involve many contradictions. There are cases which hold that the Constitution, so far as not affected by amendment, is changeless;⁴ but there have been enough instances of opposite interpretations being given to the same clause to weaken

³ Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Princeton*, p. 98. See also Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States*, p. 192.

⁴ "The Constitution is a written document, and, as such, its meaning does not alter." *South Carolina v. U. S.*, 199 U. S. 437, 448. "It [the Constitution] speaks . . . with the same meaning and intent with which it spoke when it came from the hands of its framers." Ch. J. Taney in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 19 How. 393, 426.

the practical import of this doctrine of changelessness.⁵ There is the rule that the intention of the framers must be followed;⁶ but even if you could know what the intention of the framers was, which is often doubtful,⁷ you would be confronted by another "rule of construction" which says that if a certain interpretation is within the letter of the Constitution, it is not to be excluded because the framers

⁵ In *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U. S. 45 (1905), the Supreme Court held that a New York law limiting hours of labor in bakeries was void under the federal Constitution as an interference with liberty of contract. In later cases the authority of this decision was worn away. (*Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U. S. 412; *Bunting v. Oregon*, 243 U. S., 426; *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 216 U. S. 525.) In the *Adkins* case Chief Justice Taft, in dissenting from the opinion of the Court, remarked: "It is impossible for me to reconcile the *Bunting Case* and the *Lochner Case*, and I have always supposed that the *Lochner Case* was thus overruled *sub silentio*." 261 U. S. 564. The income tax law of June 30, 1864, was interpreted as not being a "direct tax" and its constitutionality was upheld in *Pacific Ins. Co. v. Soule*, 7 Wall. 433 (1868). This position was reversed in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.*, 158 U. S. 601 (1895). The doctrine that state laws restricting rates to be charged by public utility corporations were not violative of the Fourteenth Amendment was announced in *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U. S. 113 (1877); but this opinion was reversed in *C. M. and St. P. Ry. Co. v. Minn.*, 134 U. S. 418 (1890). In *Hepburn v. Griswold*, 8 Wall. 603, the Legal Tender Act of 1862 was held to be unconstitutional. The opposite opinion was announced in the Legal Tender Cases, 12 Wall. 457. The court held in *Ex parte Vallandigham*, 1 Wall. 243, that a judgment by a military commission is not reviewable by the Supreme Court; but in *Ex parte Milligan*, 71 U. S. 2, the decree of such a commission was reviewed and set aside. *Rogers v. Burlington*, 3 Wall. 654, was reversed in *Brenhan v. German American Bank*, 144 U. S. 173; *Doyle v. Central Ins. Co.*, 94 U. S. 535, was reversed in *Terral v. Burke Construction Co.*, 257 U. S. 529. For other instances of the "victory of dissent", see Charles E. Hughes, *The Supreme Court of the United States: its Formation, Methods and Achievements*, pp. 69-70.

⁶ "The object of construction, applied to a constitution, is to give effect to the intent of its framers, and of the people in adopting it." *Lake County v. Rollins*, 130 U. S. 662, 670. See also *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheaton 1, 188.

⁷ In seeking to determine the "intention of the framers" of the Constitution one finds that the members of the convention, even the majority, did not intend the same thing; that in the process of ratification votes were cast by no more than one-sixth of the adult males; that voters for delegates in the state ratifying conventions had only superficially read the Constitution if they had read it at all; that their layman's understanding might differ from the interpretation which lawyer-judges later placed upon the document; that the delegates in the state conventions were influenced by log-rolling as well as by the exercise of pure reason, and that their votes were, in the last analysis, limited to *Yes* or *No* on the whole instrument. Under these circumstances it would be very difficult to determine as to particular clauses, especially the more debatable ones, just what was the intention of those responsible for putting the Constitution into effect. C. A. Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*; C. E. Miner, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York*; A. C. McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*; A. J. Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall*, vol. I., chs. VIII., IX. (For further bibliography on ratification, see Charles Warren, *The Making of the Constitution*, p. 744 n.)

did not foresee or intend it.⁸ Construing the words of the Constitution according to their contemporary meaning⁹ is another rule which the court does not uniformly follow. For instance, in deciding the income tax of the second Cleveland administration to be unconstitutional, the court applied the words "direct taxes" in the sense of the economist, which was not the sense intended by the framers, who seem to have had in mind land and capitation taxes raised by the states according to quotas fixed by Congress.¹⁰ The maxim *stare decisis* is a powerful force in conserving legal doctrine; yet at any time the court may depart from precedent. Construing according to context is another "rule";¹¹ yet the context of a particular clause may be a mere accident traceable to the committee on style in the convention,¹² and various occasions arise in which the rule is properly disregarded. The court will at times derive an affirmative from a negative (*e.g.*, Congress is held to have power over navigation because, among other reasons, it is prohibited from giving preference to one port over another),¹³ and there are also instances of deriving a negative from an affirmative;¹⁴ but neither of these processes of judicial construction is uniformly applied.

⁸ "It is not enough to say, that this particular case was not in the mind of the Convention, when the article was framed, nor of the American people when it was adopted. . . . The case being within the words of the rule, must be within its operation likewise." *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheaton 518, 644-645.

⁹ "The convention must have used the word [*commerce*] in that sense [*i.e.*, navigation]; because all have understood it in that sense; and the attempt to restrict it comes too late." *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheaton 190. See also *The Propeller Genessee Chief et al. v. Fitzhugh et al.*, 12 How. 443, 458; *Locke v. New Orleans*, 4 Wall. 172.

¹⁰ *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.*, 158 U. S. 601 (see esp. dissenting opinion, pp. 638 ff.). See also Chase's opinion in *Veazie Bank v. Fenno*, 8 Wall. 533, 542.

¹¹ "*Noscitur a sociis* is a rule of construction applicable to all written instruments." *Va. v. Tenn.*, 148 U. S. 519.

¹² Since the *habeas corpus* clause appears among the limitations placed upon Congress (Art. I, sec. 9), it has been argued that the power to suspend the writ in an emergency belongs to Congress instead of the President (Ch. J. Taney in *Ex parte Merryman*, 17 Fed. Cas. 144). Turning back to the history of the clause in the convention, however, one finds that the subject was discussed in connection with provisions concerning the judiciary, and that it was the committee on style which, as a final touch, placed the clause with the paragraphs concerning Congress. G. Hunt and J. B. Scott (eds.), *Debates in the Federal Convention . . . Reported by James Madison*, pp. 427, 477.

¹³ *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheaton 191.

¹⁴ This was done in *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137, as to the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The affirmative statement that the court shall have original jurisdiction in specified cases was held to imply that it shall not have original jurisdiction in any other cases. But in *Cohens v. Virginia*, 6 Wheaton 264, the court refused to derive a negative from an affirmative as urged by the counsel

What, then, has happened to the court's "rules of construction"? When one reads the hundreds of pertinent cases involved in pursuing this inquiry he finds that the adjustment of certain practical interests—it may be those of a bank or a steamship company or a grain elevator corporation or a railroad—and the safeguarding of public interest in connection with these adjustments, have induced a modification here and a restatement there until the court's rules have been flattened into broad doctrines which permit an expansive and flexible interpretation. The court says, in sweeping phrase, that the Constitution must be so construed as to promote its broad purposes. It deals in general language and must not be given the literal interpretation suitable to a legal code. While enumerating the powers of Congress, it does not attempt to define them. To state the meaning of any of the enumerated powers is a judicial function, a function to be performed in the light of reason. Thus the court, struggling with its task of applying this and that part of the Constitution, is led by the continual modification of its rules of construction to a situation in which almost no line of interpretation is absolutely fixed; for at all points the court reserves to itself a large freedom of judgment in attuning its decisions to changing conditions of society. The very process of finding solutions for "legal questions" in a practical world leads to their social and economic relationships. We have Story's *Commentaries* and Kent's *Commentaries*, but the commentary on the Constitution which appears in American social history is still to be developed; and it may not be venturing too far to suppose that it is the most important of all.

It is an interesting exercise to ponder what we mean by "legal questions". The question of a man's good name and the location of his fence-line may both be legal matters; which indicates that when you call something a "legal question" you have not classified it. To say that the Supreme Court deals with legal questions is about as illuminating as to say that a printing press is used in the manufacture of books. The most diverse kinds of subject-matter, from shrimp canning to radio, may come before the Supreme Court. Admitting that the court deals only with legal questions (or, more strictly, with judicial questions, for political issues are avoided), the fact remains that when the court gives a decision approving or disapproving the activities of an industry, its decision profoundly affects that industry; and in many of its decisions a wide range of industries for Virginia, and held that the conferring of original jurisdiction where a state is a party did not have the negative force of excluding appellate jurisdiction where a state is a party. Deriving the negative from the affirmative in the *Marbury* case, said the court, was necessary to give effect to the purpose of the Constitution, while in the *Cohens* case it would have had the opposite effect.

trial practices throughout the whole country is involved. To the academic legal writer the points of law may make the chief appeal; but in the business world it is the industrial subject-matter that signifies. A lawyer may be interested in a given decision because it concerns a certain use of the injunction; but the social historian finds it notable because it controls the activities of organized labor. Constitutional history is more than a legal study.

A question that is judicial in its manner of adjustment may be financial or economic or social in its essential character. The Supreme Court today is largely an arbiter of economic problems; and stock brokers closely watch its decisions. To decide, for instance, whether certain legislation is "confiscatory", and whether property is being taken without "due process of law", the court must determine what a corporation's property is, tangible and intangible, whether the corporation is overcapitalized, what its earnings are, gross and net, how far capitalized earnings may be taken as a basis for valuation, whether earnings are assisted by an artificially controlled market, what present value attaches to future profits, what attention should be given to "cost of reproduction" in evaluating corporate property, and many other complex questions of capitalistic organization.¹⁵ In reading many of its decisions, one is impelled to ask, Is the court interpreting the Constitution and the laws, or is it making an economic adjustment? It might in a sense be said that the judge is a part of our industrial régime. Judicial reaction to economic environment is a factor that can not be escaped. Every judge has his economic philosophy, his social ethics on questions of property, land-holding, appropriation of socially created values, protection of capital by a public guarantee of profits, and the like. A man with the economic views of Henry George would decide certain legal questions differently than a man holding the economic opinions of, let us say, John Adams. When presidents appoint judges, the economic doctrines of available men are considered; and the Senate gives heed to this factor in confirming nominees. Certain of the court's decisions are more memorable for their economic doctrines than for purely legal principles; and some of the notable dissents are traceable to a difference of economic approach between the dissenting justice and his associates.¹⁶

¹⁵ To show the complex factors of capitalistic economics that come before the Supreme Court one needs only to select at random from a multitude of cases, of which the following are typical: *Smyth v. Ames*, 169 U. S. 466; *Galveston Electric Co. v. Galveston*, 258 U. S. 388; *Wilcox v. Consolidated Gas Co.*, 212 U. S. 19; *United Gas Co. v. Railroad Commission of Ky.*, Oct. term, 1928, no. 1.

¹⁶ In one of his famous dissenting opinions Justice Holmes brought this element of judicial economics, if we may call it that, into focus when he said: "This

Often what we call constitutional processes are social processes with a constitutional manifestation. As Dr. Jameson has shown, the American Revolution involved important changes in landholding, in the "status of persons", in the educational horizon, and in social conditions generally.¹⁷ Beard's researches as to property interests involved in the adoption of the Constitution and as to capitalistic-agrarian antagonisms manifest in later controversies are indispensable to the constitutional historian.¹⁸ Southern interests as to race adjustment produced the constitutional defense of slavery; while the impulse for social reform produced such Northern arguments as those of Chase to show that the fugitive slave acts were unconstitutional. Nullification was an economic and social issue, though it produced one of our constitutional classics in the Webster-Hayne debate. As to secession, the constitutional phases should not be ignored, for they were a part of our history; and it should be remembered that the South was justifying state withdrawal as a peaceful, legal affair. Yet one can not read the proceedings of the commercial conventions of the ante-bellum South, or turn the pages of T. P. Kettell,¹⁹ or explore *DeBow's Review*, without realizing the pull of

case is decided upon an economic theory which a large part of the country does not entertain. . . . But a constitution is not intended to embody a particular economic theory, whether of paternalism and the organic relation of the citizen to the state or of *laissez faire*. It is made for people of fundamentally differing views, and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar or novel and even shocking ought not to conclude our judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution of the United States." *Lochner v. N. Y.*, 198 U. S. 75-76. Chief Justice Taft expressed a similar sentiment when dissenting in the *Adkins* case. 261 U. S. 562. It was the pressure of the capitalistic age that turned the attitude of the Supreme Court on the Fourteenth Amendment. Having formerly restricted the amendment to the protection of the negro as intended by the framers, the court later reversed its position and extended federal protection under the amendment to corporations when confronted with adverse state laws. (Compare the *Slaughter-house Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, with the *Minnesota Rate Case*, 134 U. S. 418.) By 1911 the Supreme Court issued 604 opinions under the Fourteenth Amendment, which has been productive of more cases than any other phase of constitutional law. Of these 604 cases, only 28 involved the rights of the negro as such. Charles W. Collins, *The Fourteenth Amendment and the States*; R. E. Cushman, *Leading Constitutional Decisions*, p. 34. See also Charles Warren, *Supreme Court in United States History*, II. 741; Rodney L. Mott, *Due Process of Law*, p. iii.

¹⁷ J. F. Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*.

¹⁸ C. A. Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*; *id.*, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*.

¹⁹ Kettell's fundamental thesis was that the South, while producing the great bulk of the nation's wealth, was sapped of its just profits by the partiality of the federal government to the North, and by Northern control of cotton marketing, international exchange, banking, manufactures, and shipping. T. P. Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits* (N. Y., 1860). See also Robert R. Russell, *Economic*

social and economic forces in the secession movement. In the development of minor parties since the Civil War, the element of social motive is fundamental.²⁰ Third parties, indeed, seem to belong more to social than to political history. Though failing from the political standpoint in the sense of never winning an election, a minor party may nevertheless achieve success by agitation in favor of its programme until that programme is adopted by one of the major parties and put into execution. The whole movement for the development of nationalism following the Civil War is to be explained chiefly in economic terms. The "unwillingness of absentee capital to rely upon State courts for the vindication of constitutional rights"²¹ is a factor that entered powerfully into certain developments since 1865 by which federal courts have become the protectors of capital. Among the links in this process were the Removals Act of 1875,²² permitting any party asserting a right under the federal Constitution, laws, or treaties, to begin suit in a federal tribunal or have his case removed from a state to a federal court; the development of the doctrine of corporate citizenship,²³ and the opening of new avenues of corporation law by the modern application of the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The question whether our Constitution is effective is largely a social question. What we call constitutional guarantees are conditioned by social forces. The Constitution prohibits Congress from abridging freedom of speech and press; but (leaving aside the fact that, according to competent authorities, this constitutional prohibition has been violated by Congress in 1798 and 1918) the question whether we actually have liberty of spoken and written opinion is a matter that rests with the community. André Siegfried, who may perhaps be ranked with De Tocqueville and Bryce as a foreign interpreter of American institutions, has remarked that the United States is a Protestant country;²⁴ and if that is true it is a factor of greater

Aspects of Southern Sectionalism (Univ. of Ill. Studies in Soc. Sciences, XI., nos. 1 and 2, 1924).

²⁰ Fred E. Haynes, *Social Politics in the United States*, ch. VII.

²¹ Felix Frankfurter and J. Landis, *The Business of the Supreme Court*, p. 65 n.

²² "The Act of 1875 opened wide a flood of totally new business for the federal courts. This development in the federal judiciary, which in the retrospect seems revolutionary, received hardly a contemporary comment." Frankfurter and Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 65. For the act see *U. S. Stat. at Large*, XVIII. 470.

²³ For the development after the Civil War of the "fiction" as to the citizenship of a corporation and of the legal principle that a corporation is a "person", see Gerard Carl Henderson, *The Position of Foreign Corporations in American Constitutional Law*.

²⁴ André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age*, p. 33.

potency than the constitutional guarantee that office-holding shall be free from any religious test. In certain kinds of cases trials are not impartial despite our bills of rights, for social sentiment amounts to a stacking of the cards for or against the accused. The courts allow a change of venue to avoid prejudice; but this becomes useless if a certain prejudice is state-wide or nation-wide. The protection of jury trial becomes a broken reed in times of social strain or intense popular feeling.²⁵ In view of such factors it would seem that the most vital subject for the political scientist is to be found in the social bearings of politics.

But there is another side to this question of interrelations. The social historian finds a reciprocal profit in the study of legal and political data. With his insight into social factors he will be able to illuminate many a subject by exploring legal records for the indirect light they throw upon conditions of society. Early Kentucky decisions reflect the frontier society of that time.²⁶ The rulings of these pioneer courts concerning slaves, their anxiety to protect the settler in his land titles, their circumspection when dealing with such outlawed but socially respectable practices as duelling and gambling, their respect for horseflesh, their Latin maxims combined with their practical directness in bringing the pioneer conscience to bear upon particular cases, can not fail to impress the student of society. The investigator of slavery will find useful data in the judicial reports of slave states.²⁷ Many interesting factors in the transition from the Mexican to the American régime in California are revealed in the earliest legal records of that commonwealth. With the unprecedented rush of immigration the necessities of actual settlement outran law. The old Mexican code, the only constituted law, was a sealed book to the Americans. Justice was somehow administered in advance of settled constitutional government and "custom was for all purposes law".²⁸ The old Mexican law prohibiting usury, for instance, was quickly overruled by California judges.²⁹ With the help of legal sources interesting dissertations could be prepared on such subjects as the English common law on the American frontier; legal education in pioneer communities; Kentucky's modified inheritance of Virginian institutions; the supplanting of English landlordism in Virginia;³⁰ conditions affecting the

²⁵ Z. Chafee, *Freedom of Speech*, pp. 76-80.

²⁶ 1 Littell (Ky. Reps.), *passim*.

²⁷ Helen T. Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*.

²⁸ Fowler v. Smith (1882), 2 Cal. 39, 48.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ W. E. Dodd, "Chief Justice Marshall and Virginia", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 776-787.

Southern Unionist in the Civil War,³¹ and so forth. Legal records are so elaborate; they reveal so much of human nature, and they cover so many phases of life that they can not safely be ignored by the historian of social conditions. Much law is ineffective and much of it involves maladjustment; but the great body of effective law consists of crystallized social experience expressed in terms of working rules. Precisely because of the social experience which it embodies, law becomes important in the social description of any people.

Law is not as wooden as is sometimes supposed. There is such a thing as social craftsmanship in the application of law. It has its procedures as well as its substantive provisions. It may be considered an art, or at least a technique, as well as a science. It gives a certain play to skill in the utilization of its devices and in the discretion reposed in its agents.³² An imperfect system of law carries the germs of its own evolution. Representation has often been enlarged and the franchise extended through the imperfect agency of a narrower franchise or a more limited representation. It was the unreformed Parliament of 1832 which passed the Reform Bill and opened the way for succeeding social reforms. Woman suffrage was obtained not by revolution but by political processes under male control. In ratifying the Seventeenth Amendment our state legislatures put into force a constitutional provision by which the right of those very legislatures to elect United States Senators was transferred to the people. When one studies new branches of jurisprudence such as radio law or the law of air travel he finds not so much new legal elements, as new applications of principles that have long been recognized. The law of radio derives much from the previous law of interstate commerce;³³ and in a recent brief Charles E. Hughes argues that the right to exclusive use of a certain wavelength bears an analogy to the law of trademarks.³⁴ Law is evolu-

³¹ The reports of the United States Court of Claims throw unexpected light upon conditions surrounding the Southern Unionist during the Civil War. 3 Ct. Cl. 19, 177, 218, 390; 4: 337; 5: 412, 586, 706.

³² Roscoe Pound, *Interpretations of Legal History*, pp. 156-157.

³³ Stephen Davis, *The Law of Radio Communication*, p. 28.

³⁴ It is argued in this connection that, while originally there is no property right in a particular wave-length, yet the same is true as to a particular sign or combination of words which in the beginning any one may adopt as a trademark; and it is an established principle that the person who first makes use of a certain name or sign without initially interfering with anyone else, and who establishes the use of such a sign in business, acquires a property right therein. The taking over of this principle from trademark law to radio law is one of the most interesting current examples of legal evolution. Brief of Charles E. Hughes in *General Electric Company's Station WGY v. the Federal Radio Commission*, Court of Appeals, District of Columbia (N. Y. Times, Dec. 16, 1928, sec. X., p. 16).

tionary. It is for this reason that the leader of social reform often finds that his purpose can be served by using or adapting instead of smashing the political or legal structure.³⁵

The social importance of political factors is illustrated in connection with those European movements that have been grouped under the expression "the pragmatic revolt in politics".³⁶ Under the stress of post-war struggles, traditional constitutional democracy has been under fire from two directions—from the Right as in Italy and from the Left as in Russia. With the introduction of Mussolini's hand-picked "four hundred" and with the constitutionalizing of the Fascist Grand Council, the last vestige of parliamentary government according to the Constitution of 1848 disappears in that country. The establishment of new dictatorships in Europe has now become so familiar that the recent overthrow of constitutionalism in Yugoslavia was accepted as an ordinary occurrence. This ability of a group within a country to jettison the fabric of constitutionalism, or the inability of other groups or of the country at large to salvage the constitutional structure, has had profound social effects. On the other hand it is of social significance that constitutionalism maintained itself against the threat of the general strike in England. Constitutional control is social control. Or, to put it another way, social control must embrace control through constitutional methods or else through some substitute for those methods; and the choice of the substitute, involving as it may violence and some form of "direct action", may profoundly affect the social changes themselves. The legal mind is, in any community, a part of social history. No picture of the social institutions of a people is complete without bringing into view its constitutional experience, its governmental aptitudes, and its political background.

³⁵ Lest the student of social questions make the mistake of thinking of law as the product of a legislature, it may be well to emphasize the distinction between legislation and that great body of accumulated law which we may call the *corpus juris* of our courts. Legislation may be thought of as manufactured law; but in the common law, in the whole mass of legal principles as applied in the courts, one sees a slow developing plant that has grown through the centuries and has unfolded in the practical adjustment of human relations with gradual modification to meet new conditions. We should have that kind of law if we had never had any legislatures. The difference between *law* and *legislation* may be illustrated in the fact that a legislature may do a certain thing by statute, and yet the courts may hold that it is invalid because it is not done by "due process of law" (R. L. Mott, *Due Process of Law*, pp. 192-207). Our federal Constitution (Art. III., sec. 3, par. 2) recognizes judicial "attainder of treason", but declares a bill of attainder prohibited. Thus attainder of treason by legislative act is unconstitutional; but attainder of treason by due process of law is approved.

³⁶ W. Y. Elliott, *The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics: Syndicalism, Fascism, and the Constitutional State*.

The present day specialist in civics is confronted with a new orientation. He must struggle as best he can to grasp the magnitude of social forces in their impact upon politics. Mass formation in modern industry, the development by the working classes of new political theories which threaten the dominant position of capitalism, the growth of feminism, the sharpening of nationalistic tendencies that has accompanied the hostile international contacts of imperialism, the strain upon democratic theory as differential psychology and biological research are undermining the doctrine of equality—these are a few of the factors with which the new political science must deal.³⁷ In the place of old conceptions of representation have come new formulas such as occupational representation, gild socialism and the like; and social parliaments have been proposed by the Webbs to supplement political parliaments.³⁸ The validity of the central state itself is challenged as the "pluralists" come forward with their formulas for giving expression to some form of group solidarity. Public opinion is being subjected to many new inquiries, as the writings of Graham Wallas and Walter Lippmann suggest. Government has lost prestige, as Merriam points out, "the old prestige . . . [of the] occult, the divine, the sacred"³⁹ not having been matched by any new prestige born of the proved advantages of modern types of government.

In this new orientation there is great need for a critical scientific attitude in matters of politics. Much of our public opinion consists of political *clichés*—mere stereotyped mental pictures concerning affairs of government. Many of our citizens have stopped their civic thinking at the grammar school age. The specialist in civics, and his allies, the political and social historian, have a challenging task in clarifying the distinction between scientific thinking in politics and that form of theory-making which is a mere rationalization of the claims of certain social groups. There is much to be done in substituting the scientific approach for a political fundamentalism that is content to juggle with such terms as "sovereignty" and "liberty", taking terms whose interpretation requires the most careful study and degrading them into mere catchwords. Matters of political philosophy are blurred by the propagandist on the one hand and the oversophisticated intellectual on the other. Yet the importance of political philosophy can not be gainsaid. A social philosopher such as Marx or Paine writes in his study or garret, and it may be that, as

³⁷ An attempt is made here to summarize the illuminating discussion by Merriam in Merriam and Barnes, *Political Theories: Recent Times*, ch. I.

³⁸ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*. See also G. D. H. Cole, *Guild Socialism Restated*.

³⁹ Merriam and Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

a result of ideas thus launched, a nation may be drenched in blood. Fateful consequences are bound up in the question as to what the people of a community believe. Where belief in witchcraft prevails, persecution and violence result. Influences that act upon the social mind are among the powerful forces of history.

A philosophy expressing itself in outworn orthodoxy is no longer sufficient; and the attitude of opportunism, "habit without philosophy" as Plato calls it⁴⁰—a hard practicality that pushes on to "do things" with no broad vision as to purposes—fails to satisfy. But a sophisticated philosophy that expresses itself only in revolt, that discards all values, and issues only in shifting sands, is no better than orthodoxy or opportunism. Even though one may stop short of a completed political philosophy, he will go far if he substitutes tested conclusions for prejudices and cultivates sound-mindedness in matters of government, an attitude that is critical, modern, and evolutionary, but does not cynically abandon all values as fictions. As the civic student reads current works on political theory he will doubtless envy a Jefferson or a Wilson for their confident political creeds. Somewhere between blind fundamentalism and destructive sophistication he may hope to find a middle ground where a balanced and informed philosophy is in some adjustment with life, and where one may have a political confession of faith without ignoring the realities of politics. Whatever the outcome of such a quest may be, it is submitted that the most useful objects to be promoted by the historical guild will come, not by an isolation of economic or social or constitutional history as if any of these were a self-sufficient field, but by each specialist welcoming the contribution of his allies.

J. G. RANDALL.

⁴⁰ Plato, *Republic X* (*Dialogues of Plato: Selections from the translation by B. Jowett, ed. by W. C. Greene*), p. 428; Graham Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 83.

NEW HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL field work in the lands bordering upon the Mediterranean, except for a few isolated and accidental finds, ceased completely during the World War. Since the close of the war excavation work has been revived, with a notable relative increase in American activity either directly under American control or by American coöperation with archaeological organizations of European countries. Among the many contributions to the existing knowledge of ancient life brought to light in these excavations several documents of primary historical importance have appeared. In the hope that the information contained in them may be of interest to historians who can not follow the scientific publications in this specialized field, a summary of a few of the new documents is presented here, combined with a few important contributions which in part derive from them.

The activity in the field of Hellenistic history has been great, due in part to the rapid publication by Professor Gerolamo Vitelli of Florence during and since the war, and since 1918 by C. C. Edgar, formerly of the Cairo Museum, of hundreds of letters and accounts from the files of a Greek business man, Zenon of the city of Caunus in lower Asia Minor. These were found in Philadelphia, located in the Fayum oasis in Egypt. Zenon went into the service of Apollonius, finance minister of Egypt under the second Ptolemy, who reigned from 285 to 246 B.C., and managed for years in behalf of Apollonius a large farm of something less than seven thousand acres. The results derived from these documents, from new fragments of the lost Hellenistic literature, and from increased epigraphical evidence have already appeared in a number of general books upon Hellenistic history and civilization.¹ Though no new documentary evidence has appeared upon the life of Alexander the Great, the later Hellenistic material has revived interest in his astounding career and prompted a large list of single studies and new interpre-

¹ Edwin Bevan, *Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London, 1927); W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (London, 1927); Pierre Jouguet, *L'Impérialisme Macédonien et l'Hellénisation de l'Orient* (Paris, 1926, translated into English as *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East*, N. Y., 1928). Vol. VII. of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, covering the history of the Hellenistic period in the East and West to 200 B.C., also contains most of the new material upon the third century.

tations of his activities. In his recent book upon Alexander's empire² Helmut Berve has made an interesting study of the old material by starting from a new angle. The second part of his volume is made up of a critical and detailed study of all the personalities who are known to have come into direct contact in any way with the young Macedonian king throughout his career, but only in so far as their activities were related to the destiny of Alexander. There are 833 of these persons. This has given Berve an intimate and highly detailed knowledge of the work performed by the group of able men whom Alexander had about him. Out of these details he has been enabled to gain and to present, in the first half of his book, a detailed knowledge of the tremendous problems of organization, both in military and civil administration, which constantly faced Alexander and his helpers. The section upon the financial administration of the empire³ is particularly fresh in its results. The knowledge of the personal enmities which existed among Alexander's subordinates gained by Berve through his study of the individual personalities has given him a new insight into group characteristics and group incentives of those who surrounded Alexander. He emphasizes the inner strength of the Macedonians and the importance which the old Macedonian monarchy had for them. The brusque resistance of the common Macedonian soldier and of many of the nobility against the attenuated fineness, as it seemed to them, of Greek civilization was the basis of their enmity toward the Hellenes who followed Alexander. The section upon the meeting of Western and Eastern ideas in the new empire is equally suggestive, though not so new in its general conclusions. The total result is to renew one's admiration for the abilities of Alexander. The significance of Berve's book seems to the writer to lie in its presentation of a new approach in historical biography. The approach is toward an understanding of the man as an historical agent out of the activities, problems, and reactions of those who knew him and worked with him, not out of the man himself.

Berve,⁴ in his discussion of the strange trip of Alexander to the oracle of Zeus Ammon in the oasis of Siwah in the Libyan desert, has accepted a theory advanced by Ulrich Wilcken in 1915.⁵ This is to the effect that Alexander took the long and difficult journey involved in order to question the god regarding his plans for rule of the world. With this Berve connects the idea that Alexander

² *Das Alexanderreich auf Prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich, 1926).

³ *Ibid.*, pt. I., pp. 302-319.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pt. I., pp. 94-96.

⁵ Wilcken, *Werden und Vergehen der Universalreiche*, *Bonner Kaiserrede* (1915); cf. his *Griechische Geschichte*, 2d ed., p. 177.

had developed, in the first two years of his Asiatic campaigns, the feeling of his mission as a supernatural one and of his own spiritual relationship to the Greek heroes and half-gods; and that the Siwah journey was made with the desire to have his supernatural sending secretly confirmed. Since the publication of Berve's book Ulrich Wilcken has presented in complete form his explanation of the Siwah incident, with a penetrating critical analysis of all the ancient evidence which bears upon it.⁶ Alexander went into the shrine of the oracle alone. What was told to him pleased him; but he refused to divulge the nature of the question put to the god and the answer. Wilcken gives convincing arguments to the effect that the motive of the Siwah journey could not have been the desire for confirmation of his divinity.⁷ His conclusion is that the purpose of the journey to the desert oracle was one single thing—to put to the god a single question which was supremely vital to his destiny. Upon this basis Wilcken advances the theory that the one question asked of the god was the sole motive of the arduous trip and that it concerned the success of his hopes for the rule of the world. It must be said of this hypothesis, as of all other explanations of this incident, that it can not be proven. It must, however, be placed beside the explanation of Eduard Meyer,⁸ heretofore generally accepted as the most probable one, that Alexander went to Siwah to obtain the recognition of his divinity, with the political motive of gaining, by way of the official acceptance of his godhood, a preponderant legal status in relation to the Macedonians and to the Greek city-states. Wilcken's theory has one decided advantage over that of Eduard Meyer, without the need of eliminating the political *results* of his claim to divinity which Meyer rightly emphasizes. In place of a political play, elaborately staged and carried out at great expense of time when time was essential to Alexander, it substitutes an incentive which is distinctly in accord with two marked characteristics of the young king, his tremendous self-confidence and the powerful mystic strain which was in him. Its weakness is that it must assume the germination in Alexander's consciousness of the idea of world rule much earlier than many students of his career would be willing to grant it.

The Italian scholars who have been conducting the excavations upon the site of ancient Cyrene in Libya, which are sponsored by the Italian government, have been unusually fortunate in their results.

⁶ In *Sitzungsb. Preuss. Akad., ph.-hist. Kl.*, XXX. (1928) 576-603.

⁷ W. W. Tarn, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI, 377, agrees with Wilcken upon this point though not with Wilcken's explanation.

⁸ See *Kleine Schriften*, 2d ed. (1924), pp. 284 f., 295. It is well stated by W. S. Ferguson in his *Greek Imperialism*, pp. 126-128, 139-148.

At the meeting of the Prussian Academy of Sciences upon November 26, 1925, Dr. Silvio Ferri presented seven important inscriptions from Cyrene which had been discovered about three years previously.⁹ They range in date from the fourth pre-Christian century to the third century after Christ. Number three contains a list of donations of wheat¹⁰ made to the cities of Hellas by the Cyrenaeans during a period of "scarcity of food" in Greece. This is known to have lasted at Athens from 330 or 329 to 326 B.C.¹¹ The food crisis followed upon the capture by Alexander of the imperial hoards of silver and gold of the Persian king kept at Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis. Its fundamental cause probably lay in the sudden increase in the supply of coined money in circulation resulting from the financial expenditures connected with the large scale operations of Alexander. The Cyrenaeen list of donations contains fifty entries, of which eight are repetitions, leaving forty-two different city-states or ethnic groups as beneficiaries. The only ruling personages represented are Olympias, mother of Alexander, and Cleopatra, his full sister, who became regent of Epirus in behalf of her young son in 331-330 B.C. Their names, therefore, stand for the ethnic group of the Epirots; and they determine the dating of the donation as in the period of the food crisis of 330-326 B.C., since Olympias was slain in 317 B.C. and Cleopatra ceased to rule in Epirus in the last years of Alexander's life-time.¹²

Although Signor Ferri and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who assisted him in the publication of these documents, have briefly suggested some of the important implications of this inscription, it has not yet, to my knowledge, been fully exploited. Temporarily the following conclusions may be noted:

1. The food shortage, as Demosthenes implied in his conduct of a case against the Athenian grain importer, Dionysodorus,¹³ was widespread throughout the Aegean Islands and the Greek mainland. The cities which received donations from Cyrene extend from Rhodes in the south to the Illyrian cities in the north.

⁹ *Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie*, 1925, *ph.-hist. Kl.*, Abh. 5.

¹⁰ For the *sitos* of the inscription as meaning "wheat" see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kyrene* (Berlin, 1928), p. 18.

¹¹ Demosthenes, *Against Dionysodorus*, and the Athenian honorary decree to Heraclides of Salamis (in Cyprus), Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.*, 3d ed., no. 304. A translation of pertinent passages from the Demosthenes speech and of the Heraclides inscription will be found in Botsford and Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization* (New York, 1915), pp. 585-590.

¹² Helmut Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, II. 212-213.

¹³ Demosthenes, *Against Dionysodorus*, ch. 7, states that Cleomenes, the finance minister of Egypt, had done much harm to Athens and to the other Greeks by buying and selling grain and fixing the prices.

2. The crisis in Greece is called a "wheat scarcity" (*sitodeia*) in the introduction to the Cyrenaean inscription and a "lack of wheat" (*spanositia*) in the honorary inscription of the Athenian Assembly to Heraclides of Salamis. These terms do not imply an unusual decline in production or crop failures in the Greek area or the Mediterranean area at large.¹⁴ The problem was one of price inflation, bad distribution, and profiteering. The cities of the Greek mainland and those of the Aegean Islands were dependent upon imported wheat; and the attempt made by the Athenians in 324 B.C., after the food crisis was past, to establish a colony on the Adriatic "that Athens might at all times have her own supply of grain"¹⁵ proves sufficiently that the danger of food shortage was chronic. From the speech of Demosthenes against Dionysodorus it was known that the chief offender in respect to profiteering during this period was Cleomenes of Naucratis, finance minister of Egypt by appointment of Alexander. In his position as *diocetes* he controlled the grain resources of the Nile valley. His methods of taking advantage of the opportunity of manipulation in the grain markets of the Eastern Mediterranean left a strong impression upon his time.¹⁶ Unquestionably he was a man of considerable ability in finance.

In this connection the sending of grain to Olympias and Cleopatra is particularly interesting. Olympias received 72,600 *medimni*, which is the next highest amount after the 100,000 *medimni* sent to Athens. Cleopatra received 50,000 *medimni*, one of the third largest of the donations. The devotion of Alexander to his mother is well known. The fact that the kingdom controlled by her and her daughter needed the sending of food by a city of the Greek world leads to the third conclusion.

3. The food crisis was caused by factors which Alexander himself could not control. Certainly he was not directly responsible for it, in the sense that it was a political measure employed by him with the purpose of controlling the Greek city-states of the League of the Hellenes of which he was president. The possibility of such a motive must be considered because the use of grain control for political ends was well known to Greek statesmanship.¹⁷

¹⁴ I see no reason whatever for adopting the suggestion of crop failures advanced by W. W. Tarn in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI. 448.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 449.

¹⁶ Pseudo-Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, ch. 33.

¹⁷ See M. Rostovtzeff, "Greek Sightseers in Egypt", in *Jour. Egypt. Arch.*, XIV. (1928) 15. Compare W. W. Tarn's suggestion, in *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI. 449, that the attempt of Athens in 324 B.C. to establish a colony on the Adriatic was due to the desire to obtain a permanent supply of grain from a source which

4. The total grain donations of Cyrene amounted to 805,000 *medimni*, which, roundly figured, is about the equivalent of 1,330,000 bushels. This total gives a surprising view of the economic power of the Cyrene district in the late fourth century.¹⁸

More important than the document discussed above is Ferri's number one, a long inscription of eighty-eight lines. It is an ordinance (*diagramma*) of one of the Ptolemies establishing a constitution for the city-state of Cyrene. Of it the last half of section one, sections two-eight inclusive, and section fifteen are unusually well preserved. Sections ten-fourteen are so badly injured as to preclude the possibility of convincing restoration. The inscription can be dated only by internal evidence. For the present none of the names given in the inscription offers a clue for a decisive dating. Ferri placed it in 248-247 B.C. when Ptolemy Euergetes finally became master of the city, some time after Demetrius the Fair of Macedon had made himself ruler of Cyrene.¹⁹ This dating has been attacked from several points of view; and strong arguments have been advanced for ascribing the ordinance to the first Ptolemy in the period before he assumed the title of king and, by elimination of other probabilities, to the year 308-307 B.C.²⁰

The constitution of Cyrene, as here established, was a curious mixture of elements. Cyrene was a Doric colony settled from the Doric-inhabited island of Thera. It was, therefore, to be expected that Doric forms would be found in the Cyrenaean constitution. The surprising fact is that there are so few of them. A Council of Old Men, the *Gerontes*, and the Committee of five Ephors alone recall the old Doric forms so well known in Sparta. For the greater part the constitution seems to follow the oligarchic-republican form prevalent in Athens in the late fourth century, as Heichelheim has shown.²¹ The citizen body of Cyrene was to consist of 10,000, including the sons of parents who were both of citizen standing, and the sons of a Libyan father and a "Cyrenaean woman" who would be a so-called "Hellene".²² Obviously the process of dilution of the Greek blood with that of the native element was going on in Cyrene which was to begin late in the next century in Ptolemaic Alexander could not control. Tarn offers this only as a probable explanation of the Athenian action.

¹⁸ See also Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Kyrene*, p. 18.

¹⁹ For these events see *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VII. 712-713; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (2d ed.), IV. 599. The evidence of the Cyrenaean coins is particularly opposed to Ferri's conclusion.

²⁰ Fritz Heichelheim in *Klio*, XXI. (1927) 175-182.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-181.

²² This part of the inscription is restored except for the "Cyrenaean woman"; but the restoration in Ferri's primary edition seems to be correct as to sense.

Egypt. An interesting arrangement is made for the board of six "generals" (*strategi*), who were evidently both civil and military executives as was customary at Athens. The ruling Ptolemy was to be a permanent member of the board. The other five were elective. In times of peace the election was to be confined to those who had not yet held the office and were not younger than fifty years. In case of war within Libya itself these restrictions were to be waived. In case of an additional war outside of Libya, the citizen body must decide whether they wished these same five to serve or not. If not, they must elect five additional *strategi* from the entire citizen body. Though it is not so stated the presumption is that the minimum age limitation and that of previous service were also waived in this case.²³

Since the appearance in 1909 of Vasile Pârvan's book upon the nationality of the traders in the Roman Empire²⁴ it has become common knowledge that Western, and particularly Italian, traders and half-Greek Italians in the second century B.C. had penetrated into the Eastern Mediterranean sphere of trade²⁵ in competition with the Greeks of the East who had formerly controlled it. Recent information adds interesting details upon the extent of the Hellenistic-Roman trade and the Western intrusion into the former Greek area. Handles of Rhodian amphoras with the names of the amphora-makers stamped upon them have appeared from excavations in distant parts of the ancient world. These have been brought together²⁶ with the surprising result that Rhodian amphoras of the firms of two manufacturers, Aristidas and Philinus, have been found on the island of Lindos, at Pergamum, in South Russia (here in large numbers), in Sicily, in Italy, and at Persian Susa. It is therefore demonstrated that the sphere of sale of Rhodian goods, or, at the least, of the use and re-use of these amphoras on the lanes of ancient trade, covered a distance east and west roughly commensurable with the width of the United States.²⁷

A Greek document published in 1925 adds interesting details to the information already known regarding the penetration of the

²³ See Heichleheim, *op. cit.*

²⁴ V. Pârvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im Römischen Kaiserreiche* (Breslau, 1909).

²⁵ In Rostovtzeff's fundamental work, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), the important references to more recent studies will be found on page 491, note 12 to ch. 1.

²⁶ By Eugen Pridik in *Klio*, XX. (1926) 303-331. See also Fr. Cumont in *Syria*, VII. (1927) 49.

²⁷ These amphoras were presumably used for the shipment of wine. Cumont dates them as being of the Hellenistic period.

Eastern Mediterranean area by Western traders.²⁸ It is the copy, written on a papyrus sheet which is in badly broken condition, of an instrument of loan made by an Egyptian-Greek capitalist to five men who were engaged in trade to "the Incense-Bearing Land". Wilcken, the publisher, dates the document at about 150 B.C. "The Incense-Bearing Land" was the ancient Punt, now generally identified with the Somali coast of East Africa. The document is economically and legally important *per se* because it is the only example of a sea-loan which has as yet been recovered from antiquity. The cosmopolitan character of the trading personnel at Alexandria, within fifty years of the time when Rome had made its first serious military campaign into the Eastern area, is its most surprising feature. The five persons who received the loan for the trip down the Red Sea included a Lacedaemonian and a man of Massilia in Gaul. His name is not decipherable. The five sureties for payment of the loan include a Thessalonican (the modern town is Saloniki), a Carthaginian with a Greek name, a man from Elea in lower Italy, and two men with Celtic names from Massilia. Truly the trading world was already a cosmopolitan one. Although the venture of these traders was a private one, they were operating in the service of the Ptolemaic royal monopoly of manufacture of aromatics and would be compelled to sell the aromatic plants which they imported to the royal monopoly at a legal rate fixed by the government.

In 1927 Professor G. Oliverio published a long Greek inscription found in the excavations of the market place of Cyrene.²⁹ In view of its outstanding importance for many problems connected with the provincial administration and legal organization of the Roman Empire under Augustus Caesar it is a highly important consideration that the document is almost perfect in its preservation.³⁰ It contains four edicts of Augustus of the year 7-6 B.C. followed by a fifth edict in which he publishes a decree of the Roman senate of the year 4 B.C. This last document was also published under Augustus's authority by virtue of his position as *princeps senatus*. Already the interpretation of the documents, which are unquestionably of the greatest historical significance, has given rise to numerous articles in Italian, French, German, and English journals, giving the text, translation into the corresponding modern language, and

²⁸ Berlin Papyri 5883+5853 published by Ulrich Wilcken in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LX. (1925) 86-102.

²⁹ Oliverio's *editio princeps* appeared in the *Notiziario Archeologico del Ministero delle Colonie*, fasc. IV. (1927), pp. 13-67.

³⁰ The work of the mason who copied the document upon the stone is very bad. Omissions by him of parts of words have in several places created serious difficulties of interpretation.

featuring the changes which the new material has necessitated in our knowledge of provincial jurisdiction in the Empire.³¹ The text, with translation, should be made available in some American edition immediately for the use of students of political science and history. In this article, it is possible only to point out its unusual importance and summarize a few of its salient features.

In the first edict the emperor declares that there are only two hundred and fifty Roman citizens in the provincial district of Cyrene who have a property rating of 2500 *denarii*. Out of this list the jury courts had been selected for criminal cases (*i.e.*, those punished with banishment, confiscation of property, or death). The Greeks had complained, and Augustus could in some cases substantiate the fact, that injustices had arisen out of this situation. Therefore Augustus considered it fitting that the provincial governors of Cyrene should form a mixed court, with numerical parity of Greeks and Roman citizens upon it, which also might deal with such cases, the accused to have the right of choice of the old court, composed of Roman citizens alone, or the new mixed court. Age and property qualifications for admission of Greeks to the mixed court are given, and details as to right of challenging jurors, etc. In cases of murder, Augustus continues, it was the usual custom among the Greeks that the relatives of the man killed looked after the prosecution of the criminal. He, therefore, considered it fitting that Romans should not be permitted to appear as accusers in such cases against a Greek except that a Greek who had been given Roman citizenship might appear as accuser in case the murdered man was related to him.

From the point of view of the service of Roman citizens upon juries in the provinces one point here is entirely new, and it overthrows an accepted theory, that there was complete freedom of choice of such jurors, which goes back to Mommsen. This new information lies in the necessary deduction that in the Cyrene district, even before Augustus drew up his edict, the selection of Roman citizens as jurors was restricted to those of a definite census rating. It seems to eliminate also a conclusion of Wlassak that the Roman citizen jurors of the provinces were selected only for those juries which

³¹ German translation, with brief comments, by Fr. Ebrard in *Philolog. Wochen-schrift*, XLVII. (1927) 1193-1198, 1226-1232; text, partial translation, and evaluation by J. G. C. Anderson in *Jour. of Roman Studies*, XVII. (1927) 34-48; brief summary of contents by Fr. Cumont in *Journal des Savants* (1927), p. 126 ff.; text translation with valuable investigation by Anton von Premerstein in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung* (cited *Sav.-Ztsch.*) *Römische Abtheilung*, XLVIII. (1928) 419-531; and a complete edition and close discussion of the documents in all their bearings, by Johannes Stroux and Leopold Wenger in *Abhandlungen der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol.-hist. Kl.*, XXXIV. (1928), containing 145 pages.

were in session during the meetings of the provincial *conventus* of Roman citizens.³² The minimum age qualification for the mixed courts in Cyrene established by Augustus, both for Greeks and for Romans, was twenty-five years. The problem of the minimum age limit for jurors in the courts at Rome has been widely disputed in recent years.³³ As presented by Stroux³⁴ in combination with the older literary evidence, the probable effect of the twenty-five-year lower limit for jury service in the Cyrene inscription will be that *we must ascribe to Augustus Caesar a general reduction of the minimum age qualification by a standardizing regulation to that which had existed for the quaestorship*, and that it was applied to jury service and for admission to the senate at Rome and to the magistracies and senates in the provincial cities.

Von Premerstein³⁵ sees in this first edict evidence of strained relations between Roman citizens and the "Hellene" class in Cyrene. Probably this is true. At any rate the decision of Augustus which permitted the Hellenes to sit beside Roman citizens in the mixed courts with numerical parity must have been felt by the Cyrenaean Greeks as a distinct victory for them. This is equally true of the recognition by Augustus of the ancient Greek right and the religious obligation of the kin of the murdered person to act as accusers of the murderer and see to it that he did not escape punishment. This is a distinct concession to the local prejudices of a Greek community which is quite contrary to the Roman legal practice.³⁶ These facts are of the greatest importance in showing the sincerity of Augustus's desire to see that the Roman rule of the provincials should be established upon a basis of just dealing after their long experience of misrule and spoliation under the senatorial régime and amid the civil wars of the late republican period. Again Augustus departed from a principle of his attitude toward Roman citizens and pro-

³² See Stroux in *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, XXXIV. 2, 94-95, and note 4 to p. 95. Wlassak's view was expressed in his *Zum Römischen Provinzialprozess*, p. 35. note 54.

³³ The literature upon it is given by von Premerstein in *Sav.-Ztsch.*, XLVIII. 451.

³⁴ *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, XXXIV. 2, 98-101, contrary to von Premerstein's decision from the same evidence of the edict of Augustus in *Sav.-Ztsch.*, XLVIII. 451-452.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

³⁶ It comes from the Draconian murder code of Athens. The evidence that the Athenian legal code had still its influence in the city laws of Alexandria in the middle of the third century B.C. was brought by Halle papyrus 1, see *Dikaïomata, Auszüge aus Alexandrinischen Gesetzen* (Berlin, 1913), p. 173 ff. How much more surprising to find it persisting among the Greeks of Cyrene in the time of Augustus!

vincials—namely, that the Roman citizens were to form a class of distinct and acknowledged privilege as against the provincials,³⁷ in withdrawing from Roman citizens the right which they had previously enjoyed of acting as accusers of the Hellenes in murder cases in the Cyrenaeen province.

The second edict, again, gives an intimation of this tendency on the part of Augustus. The edict states that three Roman citizens had been sent under arrest by the provincial governor, Publius Sextius Scaeva, to Augustus because they had professed to have knowledge of something, not defined by Augustus, which was inimical to his safety and to the welfare of the state. Augustus had released them from arrest because he found that they had lied about the matter and really knew of nothing of this character. Though this is not said by Augustus it seems to be obvious that these men had been sent to the emperor for investigation at the instance of their fellow Roman citizens, not of the Greeks. One of them, however, was being detained at Rome by Augustus for investigation on another charge. This charge was to the effect that the man had removed some statues from public places. Among these was one dedicated with the name of Augustus by the city of Cyrene. The accusations, therefore, against this prisoner must have been: (1) removal of public property of the city without authority; and (2) *laesa majestas*. This accusation was made by an embassy of the Cyrenaeans which was at Rome. Why did the city of Cyrene make public on stone the action of the emperor in so trivial a matter? The fate of the three Roman citizens did not actually concern the Cyrenaeen Greeks. The Roman governor had sent them. The only reason which suggests itself for this conspicuous publication is the desire of the Cyrenaeans to have a permanent and prominent record of the attention paid by the Roman emperor to the complaint of the Cyrenaeen embassy. It might in the future be a precedent which they could quote with effect. From the Pliny-Trajan correspondence of 112-113 A.D., we know that the Greek city-states were prone to remember and recall these precedents in their struggle to maintain the shreds of their local liberties.

The edict which appears as the fourth in order upon the stone is dealt with here before the third because of its close connection with the subject of edicts one and two. Augustus orders that in all civil

³⁷ As a general policy, see M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 45, 48; *A History of the Ancient World*, II. (Oxford, 1927) 182. This policy was applied with particular sharpness to Egypt, with its special conditions and its peculiar problems. See Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, vol. I., pt. I. (Leipzig, 1912), p. 53; Rostovtzeff in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I. 342-348.

cases between Greeks, excepting those dealt with in edict one, the jurors shall be of the class of "Hellenes", unless the accused or the accuser prefer that the case be tried before a jury composed of Roman citizens. A provision is added that no juror shall be selected who comes from the same city as either the accuser or the accused. The purpose of this last stipulation is to eliminate local prejudices from the decision such as frequently lead to a demand for a change of venue in our own court system. The jury courts here established are to supplement, in cases which involved lesser punishments, those established for the *capitales causae* which carry the threat of the death penalty.³⁸ This edict, just as the first edict, contains a distinct concession to the Hellenes in that the cases here provided for were previously handled entirely by jury courts of Roman citizens. Back of the concession lies dissatisfaction of the Greek citizens of the towns of the Cyrene district with the Roman complement of the juries, abuses such as Augustus himself attests in edict one, and the willingness of Augustus to attempt the betterment of a situation which had been producing unjust decisions and consequent friction.

The third edict involves the problem of the tax responsibilities of those Greeks of the cities in the Cyrene district who had been, or might in the future be, enfranchized with Roman citizenship.³⁹ As a general rule they were to be subject to the regular 'liturgies' (*munera*) which other Greeks of these cities were obligated to fulfill. Exception is made in case of special exemption from such burdens granted either by Julius Caesar or by Augustus at the time when the grant of the Roman franchise was made. Even these tax exemptions are to apply only to the property which such persons had at the time of enfranchisement. Later accretions of property are to be taxed. In speaking of the grants of citizenship made by Julius Caesar and by himself, Augustus declares that these franchise grants have been made by them "in accordance with a law (of the Roman people) or a decree of the Senate".⁴⁰ The right of the senate to empower the Roman magistrate to grant the franchise has not hitherto been known.

The fifth document is by far the longest and the most sensational of the group. It, too, is technically an edict of the *princeps*, Au-

³⁸ This edict is difficult in several points and allows of different interpretations. It would demand the knowledge of a competent scholar in ancient law to take an independent attitude upon the questions involved.

³⁹ This edict would not affect resident Roman citizens from other communities, such as those from the Italian cities.

⁴⁰ The stonemason has at this point omitted a syllable which makes a restoration necessary and the interpretation difficult. I follow the view of Wenger in *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, XXXIV. 56, as against that of Oliverio and von Premerstein as being based upon a more exact rendition of the Greek as it stands.

gustus. It begins with the customary edictal formula: "Imperator Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the nineteenth time, speaks." But the legislation itself is contained in a decree of the senate for which the emperor's edict is the covering document of the executive, authorizing the publicity which the enactment receives. The importance of this *senatus consultum* beyond that of the four previous edicts of the *princeps* is immediately apparent from the fact that its provisions apply to all the provinces of the Empire and not alone, as the others do, to the local situation in the Cyrene district of the province Crete-and-Cyrene. The subject of the senate's decree is the establishment of a new type of court and a new procedure in cases of those complaints of the provincial subjects which demand merely the repayment of monies illegally extorted from them, either as governmental units or as private persons (actions *de repetundis*). *Capitales causae*, that is, contra-legal acts in which the punishment demanded by the accusers carried the danger to the accused of the death penalty, banishment, or loss of citizen rights, are not included within its provisions.

The evils connected with the old system of handling such cases are made clear. Witnesses "dragged in" from far distant provinces were often weak through sickness or old age. Although it is not specifically so stated in the decree it becomes apparent from the terms of the new procedure that intolerable delays in the presentation of such cases formed the crux of the prevailing bad situation. The remedy to be supplied by the new court and its procedure is as follows. The magistrates empowered to present such complaints to the senate are to introduce the complainants to that body as soon as possible and to appoint for them an advocate who shall speak in their behalf. Under ordinary circumstances the magistrate who introduces the complainant remains in charge of the case until its completion. A special panel of nine men is to be selected by lot from the number of those senators who are in Rome or within twenty miles of the city. Accuser and accused have each the obligation to challenge two of these nine, so that the final court shall consist of five senators. This process of elimination must be completed within two days. The court of five is to fix the exact amount of the money to be repaid, if a case of extortion is made out, and to give its decision within thirty days. The magistrate in charge of the case is empowered to summon witnesses resident in Italy, five in a case dealing with extortion from private persons, ten in a public case.

The analogy which the form and method of publication of this senatorial decree suggest is that of the famous *senatus consultum*

on the matter of the Bacchanal worship in Rome and Italy. It was passed in 186 B.C.⁴¹ In that affair the Roman consuls presented their fears regarding the Bacchanal cult to the senate. The senate deliberated and took legislative action to check the abuses which they feared. The form in which the Bacchanal decree has come down to us is that of an official letter of the consuls written to the magistrates of the federated communities in Italy, embodying those extracts of the senate's decree which would apply to the Italian allies. The senate, throughout, was the active body and the responsible authority. The consuls were the executives of its decision and agents of its will. The form of the Cyrenaean decree is in effect the same, except that the consuls do not look after the publication. Augustus does. He is a super-magistrate. It is in the matter of the initiative and the control of legislation that the great change has come. The initiative in this reform of the court *de repetundis* came from Augustus. His hand guided it through the process of legislation and completed the circle by procuring its publication. In the covering edict he states: "From this [edict] it will be clear to all inhabitants of the provinces what care I and the senate take that no one of our subjects may suffer any injury beyond what is fitting."⁴² The opening lines of the senate's decree disclose the method followed in shaping the reform legislation. The consuls of the year, it is true, had presented the matter formally; but Augustus did the work. It was he who selected by lot an advisory committee out of the senatorial body to consult with him. With the advice of this committee he expressed his will to the senate. Out of his decision came the final decree.⁴³ The effect of the document is in general merely to sharpen and emphasize, by a concrete and clear example, what has long been known, namely that Augustus Caesar ruled the Roman state of his day, whatever term may be applied to that state as political form. We had not known, however, how complete and unhindered he was in his control of a senatorial province. For it is to be observed that the province Crete-and-Cyrene belonged in the list of those reserved for the control of the senate in the arrangement arrived at in 27 B.C. The net result of the new Cyrene material is to emphasize strongly the complete control which Augustus had attained in the state.⁴⁴ A second result is to confirm by

⁴¹ The inscription is given in Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, vol. I., ch. 18. Compare the account given in Livy, XXXIX., ch. 14.

⁴² See the text of the Cyrenaean inscription, lines 79-82.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, lines 84-88.

⁴⁴ For the recent attacks upon Mommsen's theory of the Roman empire of Augustus as a "dyarchy", a double rule of two coördinate powers, *princeps* and senate, see Ernst Schönbauer's discussion in *Sav.-Ztsch., Röm. Abt.*, XLVII. (1927)

an example of its practical application the statement of Dio Cassius that the senate had granted to Augustus in the year 23 B.C. a greater imperium than that held by the proconsuls everywhere.⁴⁵ This statement of the *maius imperium* was taken by Mommsen as the basis for the legal right of the *princeps* to send instructions to the proconsuls in the senatorial provinces, to pass regulatory measures regarding these provinces, and to take action in special cases in the provinces as he desired. The new information is particularly important because Professor Donald McFayden several years ago had made a careful study of the alleged grant to Augustus of a *maius imperium* extending over the senatorial provinces and had come to the conclusion that no such grant was either necessary to Augustus or made to him.⁴⁶ In other words the statement of Dio Cassius was to be regarded either as a misunderstanding or as an invention.⁴⁷

Whatever may be the ultimate decision upon Professor McFayden's well-reasoned argument as to the absence of any decree legally formulating Augustus's control over the senatorial provinces, the fact of the complete character of that control is now made doubly evident. An embassy of a city district in a senatorial province (see edict 2) had direct access to the *princeps*, apparently without any intervention of the provincial governor; and it dealt directly with him.⁴⁸ The tone of the *senatus consultum* with its covering *edictum principis* is important—equally that of edict one, which established the new mixed court for cases between Hellenes in the Cyrenaean provincial cities involving threat of death and banishment. In edict one the emperor made the decision alone. "Until either the senate may pass some decree regarding this matter or I myself may find some better solution, it seems to me that it will be a good and fitting action of those who hold the provincial governorship of Crete-and-Cyrene in the district of Cyrene to place upon the panel list an equal number of Greeks" to that of the Romans.⁴⁹ Augustus made this regulation by edict. The senate may, by its decree, supersede

264-318. Schönbauer thinks that the use of the term "dyarchy" should be avoided, p. 278, pointing out that Mommsen himself failed to be consistent in his use of the word. It may certainly be said that the new material gives support to Schönbauer's contention.

⁴⁵ Dio, LIII., ch. 32, 5. Supported by Ulpian, *Digest*, I. 16, 8.

⁴⁶ See *Classical Philology*, XVI. (1921) 34-50.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36. McFayden still maintains his previous conclusion, after studying the Cyrenaean inscription, so far as an actual decree of the senate is concerned which granted to Augustus a *maius imperium* over the senatorial provinces. See *Cl. Phil.*, XXIII. (1928) 388-393.

⁴⁸ Leopold Wenger in *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, XXXIV. 2, 35.

⁴⁹ Lines 12-16 of the Cyrenaean inscription. I have italicized the words which seemed important in the consideration of tone and actual power involved.

his decision; or he himself may supersede it by another edict. In the senatorial provinces the power of the *princeps* in regulatory measures was technically coördinate with that of the senate—actually supreme because of his control of the decrees of the senate. The tone which Augustus adopts toward the provincial governors is that of suggesting advisable measures. That toward the senate in the covering edict to the *senatus consultum* (edict 5) is one of discretion and respect toward a nominal equal. This is good executive method. But there can be no doubt of the strength of the hand which moved, no matter how mild the voice which spoke.

Against this evident subordination of the senate's authority to that of the *princeps* even in its own provinces there is a gain in its activities to be recorded in the field of jurisdiction. The evidences of any right of the senate under Augustus to try cases and inflict penalties were so meagre that the fact itself has recently been questioned, and the beginning of this form of its later activity ascribed to the principate of Tiberius.⁵⁰ The formation of the court for recovery of money extorted from the provincials as a senatorial court is now definitely to be placed in the middle period of the principate of Augustus Caesar. Also the organization of the court and the establishment of its procedure were handled in the senate,⁵¹ although the initiation of the matter and presumably the control of the decisions reached no doubt lay with Augustus.

The information which the edicts bring in regard to the legal position of the subject population in the Cyrene district throws a useful light upon the general population policy of Augustus. The *cives Romani* were supreme. When they abused their privileged position, reforms must be made. Below this Roman citizen group came the sum of all the *peregrini*, the non-Roman population. As a group they are referred to in edict five under the general terms "the allies of the Roman people", or "those subject to us", *i.e.*, to Augustus and the senate.⁵² In the Hellenistic provinces, however, the class designated as "Hellenes", which does not necessarily imply men of Greek blood, received preferred treatment. The word "Hellene" did not, therefore, in this usage, convey solely the vague and fluctuating idea embodied in the excellent modern phrase "culture-Greek", but was a fixed and definite legal term which distinguished this peregrine class from the non-"Hellene" subjects. In this respect Rome completed a movement which had been long evident in the Hellenistic world, away from the narrow ideal of citizenship

⁵⁰ By H. Dessau, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (1924), I. 140, II. 52.

⁵¹ Von Premerstein, *Sav.-Ztsch.*, XLVIII. 527-528.

⁵² Lines 76-77, 81-82 of the inscription.

of the Greek *polis*. The Roman idea of the compatibility of different citizenships had received application in the Hellenistic East. The class of "Hellenes" ranked above the citizen groups in the various cities of the Cyrene district; but this fact did not eliminate the city-states as entities which were still accepted and still significant in the administration of the Hellenistic provinces.⁵³

So much for the important Cyrenaean documents. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Augustus when he speaks of his "concern" for the welfare of the provincial subjects or the sincerity of his intention to do all that lay in his power to rectify the injustices heaped upon the provincials in the later period of the Republic. But did he succeed?

Under the senatorial régime of the Republic Rome had had the power to conquer the Mediterranean circle of lands. It had not shown a commensurate ability to rule its conquered peoples with justice or to bring to them the blessings of peace. This was the task which lay before Augustus Caesar and his successors. On the whole they met this obligation well; but it is not to be expected that they could in all places eliminate the difficulties which inevitably arose to beset them amid the highly keyed and highly urbanized economic order of their time. It has long been known from the study of the papyri that in the second century A.D. a tendency was manifest among the peasants of Egypt to flee from the land.⁵⁴ This movement was symptomatic of some economic maladjustment, and, sporadically at least, a worry to the local and higher officials. In the past five years evidence has come to light which proves that this tendency of the tax-paying peasants to shake off their responsibilities, abandon their farm work, and disappear from their villages had already begun in the middle of the first century. A Cornell papyrus of the second year of Nero gives a list of forty-four untraced tax delinquents in a village of the Fayum.⁵⁵ This is confirmed by Graux Papyrus 2, which falls within the years 55-59 A.D. and deals with six villages of the Fayum situated in the vicinity of Philadelphia.⁵⁶ The collectors of the poll-tax in these villages complain to their superior at Philadelphia of the falling off of the tax-paying popula-

⁵³ Leopold Wenger in *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, XXXIV, 2, 51-53.

⁵⁴ The official Greek term for this was *anachoresis*. Rostovtzeff has given a wrong idea of these "flights", I think, when he calls them "strikes", in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 256. Cf. his statement on p. 437 that those who take to flight were called *anachorets*.

⁵⁵ P. Cornell 24, in Westermann and Kraemer, *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University* (New York, 1926).

⁵⁶ Published and discussed by H. Henne in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, XXI. (1923) 195-210.

tion in their villages. It is generally conceded that these are symptoms of some important economic dislocation. The customary explanation given to account for it is that the Roman Empire overburdened Egypt with its exactions of money and grain taxes and compulsory labors, called liturgies, from the farming population.

A theory quite different from this has recently been advanced by a brilliant young German scholar named Elias Bickermann. He contends that the movement is to be explained as a part of a general urban trend which entailed a chronic fluctuation of population between countryside (in Egypt this would mean the village dwellers) and the cities.⁵⁷ According to Bickermann it was economic prosperity, not economic distress, which led to the flight from the villages. He acknowledges the fact of fiscal oppression, emphasizing the collective responsibility for tax payments which the Roman Empire established; but he regards it merely as an accessory cause of the movement out of the villages. The thesis is in itself interesting and it is well founded from the standpoint of economic theory. It offers, also, a rational explanation for the place to which the peasants fled. For in Egypt one has either the desert and the Bedouin tribes to flee to or the cities. Until more evidence comes in, however, it can not be regarded as proven. For the present one must fall back upon fiscal oppression as the one certain element in the situation that we have.

One positive result for the history of the first century of the Roman Empire has been gained in the past decade by students of ancient history out of a rereading of the ancient literature in the light of the many Greek papyri found in Egypt and published in the last thirty-five years. The old view of the blessings brought to mankind by the Roman imperial régime of the first and second centuries A.D., as expressed by Gibbon and Mommsen, does not apply to Egypt. The evidences of the poverty and distress of the *fellahin* in the first century are impressive in number. The pauperizing of the middle classes is less certain; but there are many indications that it had gone far by the end of the first century.⁵⁸ The beginning of the economic distress in the Roman Empire, which became so marked in the third century after Christ, has, therefore, been shifted backward in Egypt by two centuries. The problem is now to find its causes. The explanation advanced by the English scholar, J. Grafton Milne, is expressed in the title of his recent article upon the question, "The Ruin of Egypt by Roman Mismanagement". In his view the main feature of this mismanage-

⁵⁷ See *Gnomon*, III. (1927) 671-675.

⁵⁸ J. G. Milne in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, VII. (1927) 6-8, 12-13.

ment was the process of spoliation through increase of the obligations imposed upon Egypt in money and grain taxes. M. Rostovtzeff regards the distress which the papyri of the middle of the first century indicate, as a temporary result of the imposition of new burdens and of the new system of tax-collection inaugurated during the early Empire. But the system, created in the first century, which was blind and ruthless in its operation, was inevitable in its ultimate results. To the burdensome character of the new taxes which Rome imposed he adds the fatal methods of their exaction: (1) the collective responsibility of the family group and larger social groups; (2) exaction by force, including arrest and beatings; (3) compulsory service of the financially responsible as tax-collectors.⁵⁹ The problem is an old one and the explanations given above, except for that of Bickermann, are not new. It is the early appearance of these symptoms in Egypt which is so unexpected and which demands a new alignment and a new attack upon the entire problem.

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⁵⁹ "The Roman Exploitation of Egypt", in *Jour. Econ. and Business Hist.*, I. 337-364, in particular pp. 356-357 and 362.

FOOTBALL IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND IN MIDDLE- ENGLISH LITERATURE

FROM Anglo-Saxon or pre-Conquest England only scanty records of the sports and pastimes of the people have survived, but from scattered allusions, however, we know that dicing, hawking, and hunting were indulged in. But ball-play is passed over in silence.¹ There is, nevertheless, at least one exception, apparently overlooked, and that in connection with the story of Merlin (Ambrosius) in the ninth-century Nennian *Historia Britonum*. King Vortigern had sent messengers throughout his realm in search of a boy born without a father. These ambassadors finally found such a one among a party of boys who were playing a game of ball (*pila ludus*) and had failed to quarrelling.² The nature of the game is not defined, and though it might have been football, so specific an interpretation can not be pressed upon the text of this passage, nor indeed of the following.

The earliest document, in which the antiquarians have thought to find specific reference to football in England, is William Fitzstephen's *Descriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londinae*,³ composed in 1174 as a prelude to his life of Thomas à Becket, and including a section on sports and pastimes (*de Ludis*);⁴ the pertinent passage

¹ W. Pfändler, "Die Vergnügungen der Angelsachsen", *Anglia*, XXIX. (1906) 417-524; also J. Strutt, *Glig-gamena Angel-peod or, Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (1st ed., London, 1801), pp. 73 ff.

² *Hist. Brit.*, sect. 41, ed. Th. Mommsen, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiq.*, XIII. (Berlin, 1898), pp. 182, 183; English transl. J. A. Giles, *Old English Chronicles* (London, Bell, 1912), p. 402. In his *Africa and the Discovery of America* (Philadelphia, Innes, 1922), III. 342, Leo Wiener writes on the origin of ball-games in Western Europe thus: "The ball games were brought by the Arabs into Europe, where they became very popular and led to their introduction among the clergy and, in a rougher and simpler form, among all classes of people." This statement is misleading. No one can deny that the Arabs may well have brought with them into Europe sports and pastimes, but ball-games in general, and even football of sorts in particular, go back to Classical antiquity (see K. Koch, "Die Geschichte des Fussballs", *Monatschr. f. Turnwesen*, XIII. [1894] 65-73, 105-115, 163-174, 198-208; also separately printed, with supplement, N. Gärtner, Berlin, 1895). Professor Wiener is essentially concerned with the relation of ritualistic ball-games among the Arabs and the Mexican Indians and in this connection has assembled much interesting material.

³ Critically edited text, C. L. Kingsford, *A Survey of London by John Stow* (Oxford, 1908), II. 219-229; on the text see II. 387.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 225 ff.

(p. 226) has special reference to Shrovetide festivities⁵ and runs as follows:

After luncheon the entire youth of the city (*sc.* London) goes to the fields for the famous game of ball [*pila*]. The students of the several branches of study have their ball; the followers of the several trades of the city < have > a ball in their hands. The elders, the fathers, and men of wealth come on horseback to view the contests of < their > juniors, and in their fashion sport with the young men; and there seems to be aroused in them (*sc.* the elders) a stirring of natural heat by viewing so much activity and by participation in the joys of unrestrained [*liberioris*] youth.

If Fitzstephen's account is intended to refer to football, it is then almost without question the earliest record of the game; but the terms used are very general and might perhaps equally well refer to one of a number of old ball-games, such as hockey, camp-call, or stool-ball. Indeed the one feature of this account which might be advanced in favor of the "football" interpretation is its association here with Shrovetide, famous in later days for its football as for its pancakes.⁶ We must then exclude this passage from the authentic annals of football history.⁷

A quarter of a century later (*ca.* 1200) we find "ball" mentioned as one of the games played by King Arthur's knights on the occasion

⁵ "*Praeterea, quotannis, die quae dicitur 'Carnivale'*" introduces the immediately preceding paragraph.

⁶ It is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss regional and seasonal football games, *e.g.*, Derby and Shrovetide football matches. Though these are no doubt of considerable antiquity, our records are late. For the moment it will suffice to mention an interesting, if avowedly somewhat sketchy, article by W. Branch Johnson, "Football a Survival of Magic?", *Contemporary Review*, CXXXV. (no. 758, Feb., 1929) 225-231.

⁷ John Stow, who made considerable use of Fitzstephen in his *Survey of London* (1598), abridges the above passage and renders the phrase "*singulorum studiorum scholares suam habent pilam*" by "the schollers of every schoole have their ball, or baston" (*ed. cit.*, Kingsford, I. 92). The addition of the bat (baston) is Stow's and merely suggests that he conceived of the game in question as some sort of hand-ball or hockey. As a matter of fact nowhere in his *Survey* does Stow refer to football though Kingsford apparently takes two passages in that way (see *op. cit.*, II. 470, under "football"). W. J. Thoms, earlier editor of Stow (London, 1842), p. 214, translates "*ad lusum pilae celebrem*" by "at the well-known game of football". The football interpretation was adopted by J. Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities* (ed. H. Ellis, London, 1841), I. 45, n. 9; also G. L. Craik and C. MacFarlane, [*Knight's*] *Pictorial History of England* (new ed., Charles Knight, 1855), vol. II., p. 643, col. 1; and most recently G. P. Blaschke, "Geschichte der Ball- und Laufspiele", in G. A. E. Bogeng's *Geschichte des Sports aller Völker und Zeiten* (Leipzig, Seeman, 1926), I. 340. Strutt, *op. cit.*, p. 73, rightly, though on somewhat mistaken grounds, opposes this view, while Pfändler, *art. cit.*, *Anglia*, XXIX. 522, and O. P. Monckton, *Pastimes in Times Past* (London, 1913), p. 77, are guarded.

of his "second coronation"; the passage in question is in Layamon's *Brut*, vv. 24703, 704:⁸ "Summe heo driven balles/wide 3eond þa feldeſ." But "some drive⁹ balls far over the fields" is, like the preceding passage, ambiguous, and the reader is free to interpret as he will. The verses derive a special interest, however, in that they contain the first recorded instance of the word "ball" in the English language, and earlier than any other by almost a century.¹⁰

The episode which follows has a possible claim to be regarded as an instance of football. A misadventure arising from a ball-game is thus reported from Newcastle-upon-Tyne on September 15, 1280 (8 Edward I.):

Henry, son of William de Ellington, while playing at ball [*ludens ad pilum*] at Ulkham on Trinity Sunday with David le Keu and many others ran against David and received an accidental wound from David's knife, of which he died on the following Friday. They were both running to the ball, and ran against each other, and the knife hanging from David's belt stuck out so that the point through the sheath struck against Henry's belly, and the handle against David's belly. Henry was wounded right through the sheath and died by misadventure.¹¹

Now the ball-game in question is not, it is true, described as "football" and may therefore be open to much the same objection as in the ambiguous instances treated above. However, the game here is very clearly a game of considerable violence and was participated in by a group of players. Furthermore we are certain that football was being played only a few decades later, when it had already become a public nuisance in London (see proclamation of 1314, cited below). Finally the resemblance of this case to that of William de Spalding in 1321 (see below) is sufficiently striking to encourage one in the notion that the two games may be identical.

⁸ Ed. F. Madden (London, 1847), II. 616; for a modern English rendering of this interesting passage devoted to sports and pastimes, see Eugene Mason, *Arthurian Chronicles represented by Wace and Layamon* (Everyman's Library), pp. 227, 228. The ball-play and many other details here are apparently original with Layamon, though corresponding in the main to Wace's *Brut*, vv. 10801 ff. (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1838, II. 110 ff.); for an English translation of this see, likewise, Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70. Much of the passage in Wace is suspect; see Madden, *op. cit.*, III. 391, 392, and R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, especially those of Great Britain and France* ([Harvard] *Studies in Philol. and Literature*, vol. X., Boston, 1906), p. 131, n. 8.

⁹ On the use of "drive" with "football" at a much later date see Barclay, *loc. cit.*, p. 44 below.

¹⁰ The word is used once again by Layamon; see *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v., sb.¹

¹¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)* (London, 1916), vol. I., p. 599, item 2241. For an almost identical mishap arising out of a ball-game, but between two persons only, see *idem*, p. 567, item 2121. I am obliged to Professor G. L. Kittredge for these interesting references.

On Monday, March 25, 1303, Adam of Salisbury, student at Oxford, was found slain by his brother Thomas. The jury declared on oath that Adam had been seen playing *ball* in the High Street towards Eastgate with some other students when he was attacked and mortally wounded by Irish students.¹² Here again we have to do with an ambiguous allusion, but as in the preceding case, in view of the known popularity of football a few years later, it is possible that football is here the game in question.¹³ It is interesting to note that, if this episode is to be associated with football, it is not only the earliest reference to football at an English university, but the only one before the latter part of the sixteenth century.¹⁴

In the reign of Edward II. and during the mayoralty of Nicholas Farndon of London (*ca.* 1314) occurs the first completely unambiguous reference to football:

Proclamation issued for the Preservation of the Peace.

By virtue of this notice Nicholas de Farndon, then Mayor, has by trustworthy men of the several wards < of London > caused inquiry to be made concerning malefactors and night-prowlers, and has caused a proclamation set forth below as follows to be proclaimed throughout the entire city: Whereas our Lord the King is going towards the parts of Scotland in his war against his enemies and has especially commanded us strictly to keep his peace . . . And whereas there is a great uproar in the City (*sc.* London) through certain tumults arising from the striking of great *foot-balls* in the fields of the public, from which many evils perchance may arise—which may God forbid—we do command and do forbid, on the King's behalf, upon pain of imprisonment, that such game shall not be practised henceforth within the City. . . .¹⁵

This first official and authentic appearance of the game in literature is in an interesting way characteristic of the large majority of the records of football for several centuries to come: it is a game of violence, tending often to bring in its train breaches of the peace; and it is placed under the ban of official disapproval. Furthermore,

¹² H. E. Salter, ed., *Records of Mediaeval Oxford* (Oxford, Oxford Chronicle Company, 1905), p. 11, col. 1; from Brian Twyne's MS., IV. 35.

¹³ The view of Salter, *cd. cit.*, p. 11, col. 2.

¹⁴ As Hastings Rashdall long since pointed out in his *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), II. 2, 662: "it is difficult to find in our records any allusion to recognized amusements [in the universities], except some vague mention of playing at ball out of doors. . . ."

¹⁵ *Liber Albus*, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Ser., no. 12, vol. III., app. II.; Extracts from the *Liber Memorandum* (London, 1862), pp. 439-441 (Latin and French text, with translation of French). For the date, 1314, see Riley, *Memorials of London* (London, 1868), p. 571, n. 2. According to Riley, *Liber Albus*, introd., p. x, this document is preserved in the Record-Room at Guildhall, London; according to G. P. Blaschke, "Geschichte der Ball- und Laufspiele", *loc. cit.*, p. 340, the Football Association is the "glücklicher Besitzer des königlichen Beschlusses".

and this is to be noted in connection with the two preceding passages, there is no suggestion that the game is new or unusual; indeed there is a certain implication that it is a common enough affair. Finally Farndon's proclamation definitely settles in the negative the point sometimes raised, that football was first introduced into England from France during the Hundred Years' War.¹⁶

An early fatality associated with football turns up now only a few years later; it is a curious affair, the record of which is preserved in a dispensation granted by Pope John XXII. from Avignon, May, 1321: "To William de Spalding, canon of Sculdham [Shouldham, Norfolk] of the [Gilbertine] order of Sempringham. During a game at ball (*ad pilam*), as he kicked the ball (*cum pede*), a lay friend of his, also called William, ran against him and wounded himself on the sheathed knife carried by the canon, so severely that he died within six days. Dispensation is granted, as no blame is attached to William de Spalding, who, feeling deeply the death of his friend, and fearing what might be said by his enemies, has applied to the pope."¹⁷

The resemblance between this unfortunate occurrence and that of Henry and David, cited above, is striking.

After the time of Nicholas Farndon's proclamation, the playing of violent games in London, in Westminster in particular, evidently continued to be a public nuisance, against which, in 6 Edward III. (1331/32), an edict is uttered.¹⁸ In 1364 (38 Edward III.) the Synod of Ely pronounced against the participation of the clergy in secular games in general,¹⁹ and a year later, as a measure of national defense, football is specifically banned. The statute in question is dated June 12, 1365:

To the sheriffs of London. Order to cause proclamation to be made that every able-bodied man of the said city on feastdays, when he has

¹⁶ So, for example, S. Luce, *La France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, 1890), p. 117. For a sketch of football (*jeu de soule*) in medieval France, see Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-117; J. J. Jusserand, *Les Sports et Jeux d'Exercice* (2d ed., Paris, 1901), pp. 276 ff.; J. Bouissounouse, ed., *Jeux et Travaux d'après un Livre d'Heures du XV^e Siècle* (Paris, Droz, 1925), pp. 9-11 (literature cited); and M. A. Thomas, "Le Jeu de la Soule", *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, 1919-1920, pp. 5-8 (etymological note with literature cited).

¹⁷ W. E. Bliss, ed., *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Calendar of Papal Letters* (London, 1895), II. 214; reprinted by G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain* (Cambridge, 1918), p. 400, sect. 5, and in J. C. Cox, rev. ed., of J. Strutt, *op. cit.*, London, Methuen, 1903, pp. 95-96.

¹⁸ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. II., p. 64a, sect. 3.

¹⁹ D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae* (London, 1737), III. 59-61, esp. p. 60, col. 2, ll. 9-16. Sentiment on this matter in France in the twelfth century at any rate seems to have been otherwise; for instances of ball playing by the clergy see L. Wiener, *op. cit.*, III. 342, 343.

leisure, shall in his sport use bows and arrows or pellets or bolts . . . forbidding them under pain of imprisonment to meddle in the hurling of stones, handball, *football* [*pilam pedium*²⁰] . . . or other vain games of no value; as the people of the realm, noble and simple, used heretofore to practise the said art in their sports, whence by God's help came forth honour to the kingdom and advantage to the king in his actions of war. And now the said art is almost wholly disused, and the people indulge in the games aforesaid and in other dishonest and unthrifty or idle games, whereby the realm is like to be without archers.²¹

It is evident that through the reign of Edward III., among peasantry, artisans, and apprentices, football was gaining in popularity to an extent to interfere with the practice of archery still essential to the defense of the realm. The suppression of football, among other sports, in order to encourage archery appears here for the first time, but from now on, both in England and later in Scotland, this becomes the leading motive behind anti-football legislation.²² In 1388 (12 Richard II.) the interdict on football is repeated: ". . . but such servants and laborers shall have bows and arrows, and use the same on Sundays and holidays, and leave all playing at ball whether handball or *football* (*a piée*), as well as the other games called coits, dice, stone-putting, and other such importune games. . . ."²³

These fourteenth-century allusions to football in real life are soon reflected in literature, and apparently first in Chaucer. The situation is the tournament in the *Knight's Tale* (C.T., A 2597 ff.); the gates are shut on the lists, and the memorable combat between the supporters of Palamon and Arcite is on:

Ther stomblen stedes stronge, and doun goth al.
He rolleth under foot as dooth a bal.

(A 2613, 14)

These same lines have been aptly and vividly paraphrased by Dryden:

Down goes at once the horseman and the horse:
That courser stumbles on the fallen steed
And flound'ring throws the rider o'er his head.
One rolls along, a *football* to his foes;
One with a broken truncheon deals his blows.

(*Palamon and Arcite*, 1885-1888)

But we do not need Dryden to persuade us that Chaucer knew football and as a dangerous sport at that, and that he had it definitely in mind when composing this hurly-burly scene.

²⁰ Latin from Trevelyan, *loc. cit. infra*.

²¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls. Edward III. (1364-1368)* (London, 1910), pp. 181, 182; also given by W. Besant, *Mediaeval London*, I. 74 (London, Black, 1906).

²² It is obviously not the case that "practice at the butts behind the churchyard became the chief sport and excitement of village life", G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England* (New York, 1927), p. 227.

²³ *Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1816 [1834]), vol. II., p. 57, col. 1, last item (French text and English translation).

Within a year or two after Chaucer's death football comes to our notice from reports of injuries sustained in playing the game (1403, 1404): John Hendyman, summoned after Epiphany, 1425, recollected the date of baptism of William Selwyne, deceased, "because on that day [the Feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1403] at Selmeston immediately after the baptism of the said William, he played with other companions at *football* and so playing broke his leg".²⁴ In the same year (December 13, 1425) and under almost precisely similar circumstances John Coumbes of Childham was able to recollect the date of the baptism (September 23, 1404) of Robert Tauk of Chudham, "because directly after the baptism he was playing at football with some companions, and broke his leg".²⁵

The matches in which these mishaps occurred may well have been played in the yard of the church in which the baptisms took place. Indeed, as early as 1287 (Synod of Exeter) it had been necessary to regulate the indulging in sports in churchyards;²⁶ this desecration of churchyards is vigorously denounced by Robert Manning of Brunne, Lincolnshire, in his *Handlyng Synne* (1303) (vv. 8987 ff.);²⁷ and in Chaucer's time the evil persisted and was attacked by his West-Midland contemporary John Mirc, in the *Instructions for Parish Priests* (vv. 334-337):

Castynge of ax-tre and eke of ston,
Soffre hem pere to use non;
Bal and bares and suche play,
Out of chyrche3orde put away.²⁸

Mirc himself, it will be noticed, does not refer specifically to football, but in an Oxford manuscript of the *Instructions* (MS. Douce 103) an almost contemporary glossator adds: "Danseyng, cotteying, bollyng, tenessyng, hand ball, *fott ball*. . .".²⁹

That football was sufficiently well known in the West Midlands by about 1400 to be turned, as by Chaucer in the east, to literary purposes appears in a description of a battle at the Greek ships in the West-Midland *Laid Troy Book* (vv. 12671, 72):

Hedes reled aboute overal
As men playe at the *fote-bal*.³⁰

²⁴ *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (Sussex Archaeol. Soc.), XV. (1863) 213.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XII. (1860) 43.

²⁶ D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, vol. II., p. 140, col. 2: "ne quisquam luctas, choreas, uel alios ludos inhonestos in coemeteriis exercere praesumat."

²⁷ Ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society: Ex. Ser. 109, 1901, p. 283; football is not included in the sports here mentioned.

²⁸ Ed. E. Peacock, in E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 31 (1868); passage reprinted in O. F. Emerson, *A Middle English Reader* (rev. ed., Macmillan, 1915), p. 124.

²⁹ Quoted Peacock, *ed. cit.*, p. 11, n. 2; also Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

³⁰ Ed. J. E. Wülfing, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 121, 122 (1902, 1903), p. 373.

To write humorously about his Lady Monëie (money) Chaucer's young friend and disciple Occleve turns to football for a figure:

Hir mowth is nothing scant with lippes gray,
 Hir chin unnethe may be seen at al;
 Hir comly body shape as a *football*:
 And she syngith ful like a papejay.³¹

In this connection it is perhaps somewhat remarkable that Lydgate in the famous games passage in his *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (1426) does not include football in the catalogue of the sports of youth (vv. 11178 ff.).³²

In 10 Henry IV. (1409) proclamation was made forbidding in London the levying of money for "*foteball*" on the occasion of marriages,³³ and in the following year (11 Henry IV.), since the statute of 12 Richard II. against football was not being obeyed, to the previous penalty of six-days' imprisonment was added a fine of 20 s. on the mayors and bailiffs of towns where such misdemeanors occurred,³⁴ while in 2 Henry V. (May 4, 1414) a new proclamation forbids football and orders the practice of the bow.³⁵

An interesting piece of evidence of the popularity of football only a few years later is found in *Book I* (Accounts and Other Records, 1418-1440) of the Brewers' Company of London, as an item of the account for the years 1421-1423.³⁶ There on folio 84 are listed "The names of Craffttes and Fraternites þat deden hyren owre halle yn þe seide ij zeris with þe sommes of monye þat þey dede payen"; as item 6 we find "of þe ffootballepleyers be ij tymes . . . xx d."

³¹ Works, ed. I. Gollancz, II. 38, E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser. 61 (1924).

³² Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser. no. 83, pt. 2 (1901), pp. 305, 306, and notes, pp. 676, 677, where the corresponding passage from Deguilleville is given. Nor is football specified among the games whose invention is ascribed to the Trojans in the *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* (ca. 1400), vv. 1620-1628, ed. G. A. Panton and D. Donaldson, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser., 1869, 1874.

³³ R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter Books. Letter Book I.* (London, 1909), p. 72; the same in H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London* (London, 1868), p. 571.

³⁴ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. III., p. 643, item 65; to the same effect see *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. II., p. 163, col. 2, 1st item.

³⁵ *Letter Book I.*, p. 125.

³⁶ For a transcript of this unpublished material and for certain facts in connection therewith I am grateful to Miss Lilian Redstone, London. Miss Redstone writes that "the years in question seem to have begun before Easter 10 Henry V., for which term the first rents are paid". The same account includes (fol. 88) torches and other goods made for the interment of Henry V. My attention was first drawn to this interesting record by O. P. Monckton, *Pastimes in Times Past* (London, West Strand, 1913), p. 83; the same is alluded to by G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (2d ed., London, Methuen, 1925), p. 181, who gives the mistaken impression that further football material is to be found on p. 184 of the Brewers' *Book I*.

That football players were sufficiently organized to be designated in any sense of the word as a "fraternity" is conclusive proof of the popularity of the game, and likewise of the futility of the restrictive legislation directed against it.

Probably not far from this time, though in the nature of the case of uncertain date, belongs the famous ballad of *Sir Hugh of Lincoln, or the Jew's Daughter* (Child, no. 155). The rôle of football here comes out clearly in the opening stanzas:

1. Four and twenty bonny boys
Were playing at the ba,
 And by it came him sweet Sir Hugh,
 And he playd oer them a'.
2. He *kickd the ball* with his right foot,
 And catcht it wi' his knee,
 And throuch-and-tho the Jew's window
 He gard the bonny ba flee.³⁷

The murder of Hugh of Lincoln goes back, of course, to 1255, but the ballad in its earliest conceivable form must be somewhat later; still, since the football-motif occurs in 4 of the 18 preserved versions,³⁸ one may reasonably suppose that this feature was introduced relatively early.

Football first makes its appearance in dramatic literature in the Macro morality *Mankind*, preserved in a manuscript apparently written in the reign of Edward IV. (1461-1485). *Mankind* is sore beset with worldly temptation, and Mercy bids him shun his lewd companions. But no! we'll go forth together to celebrate father's birthday—a tapster! And New Guise cries out:

What how, ostler, hostler! lende ws a *foot-ball*!
 Whoppe, whow! a-now, a-now, a-now!³⁹

Through the reign of Edward IV. the popularity of football remained unabated and was frequently legislated against. An ordinance of the Borough of Leicester, October 22, 1467, is to the point: "... that no man of the town nor of the cuntray play withinne the fraunchys of this town . . . at no vnlauffull gamons that been defended by the statute and lawe and by the parlement, that is for to sey at dyce . . . tenes . . . *foteball* . . . in payne of imprisonment. And the owner of the hows, gardens or placez where the playes been vused as often as hit is so founden and used shall

³⁷ F. J. Child, ed., *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1888), pt. V., p. 243, version A.

³⁸ Versions A, C, D, and E.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, II. 725, 726, J. M. Manley, ed., *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama* (Boston, Ginn, 1897), I. 343; on date of MS. see *ed. cit.*, p. 315, head-note.

paye to the chamberlens iiiii *d.* and euery player vi *d.* to the same chamberlens to the vse of the comons."⁴⁰ This act of provincial legislation seems to have been no more successful than the national legislation at which it glances; for on June 5, 1488, the ordinance was promulgated again.⁴¹

In Parliament, convened May 28, 1474 (14 Edward IV.), it was reported that the high price of bows was discouraging shooting, and that the people were resorting to games forbidden by law.⁴² Among these was undoubtedly football, which is specifically forbidden and archery urged in its stead in a statute of 17 Edward IV., cap. iii (1477): "item: que come solong les leiez de cest terre nul persone useroit ascuns disloialx juez come dise, coistez, *pelotez au pied*, et tielx semblables jeuz, mez que chascune persone potent et able en corps useroit son arke par cause que la defence de cest terre estoise meult par arches. . . ." ⁴³ This same is given in English in the following year, 1478.⁴⁴ A special proclamation to the same effect and with mention of "*foteball*" was made by the Mayor of London March 16, 1478/79 (19 Edward IV.).⁴⁵

From the records and allusions thus far available it is obviously impossible to reconstruct the rules and technique which may have governed medieval football, and indeed it may be reasonably doubted if such existed. One must imagine a rough and tumble, formless game, played by an indefinite number of players, struggling to gain possession of a ball and to carry it to a point which we would call the goal. That under some circumstances and in some regions a playing-field was marked out appears, however, in the following report, unique not only in furnishing us with this meagre bit of information, but also in giving us contemporary personal criticism of the game. This precious record is in a manuscript collection of miracles of Henry VI., of which the earliest is dated 1481, the latest 1500;⁴⁶ the miracle in question, no. 91, is undated, but is known to have occurred at Caunton, Nottinghamshire, and presumably early in the reign of Henry VII. (1485-1509): "William

⁴⁰ Ed. Mary Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester* (London, 1901), II, 290; also printed in William Kelly, *Notices Illustrative of the Drama* (London, 1865), pp. 185, 186.

⁴¹ Bateson, *op. cit.*, II, 316.

⁴² *Rotuli Parliamenti*, vol. VI., p. 156, col. 1, sect. 47; a similar report was made June 20, 1482 (22 Edward IV.), *op. cit.*, p. 223, col. 1, sect. 28.

⁴³ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. II., p. 462, col. 2, last item; see *ibid.*, fn. 10, for obvious textual emendation.

⁴⁴ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. VI., p. 188, col. 1, sect. 29.

⁴⁵ *Letter Book L* (ed. cit.), pp. 163, 164.

⁴⁶ R. A. Knox and S. Leslie, edd., *The Miracles of Henry VI.* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923), p. 17.

Bartram was kicked during a game, and suffered long and scarce endurable pain, but suddenly recovered the blessing of health when he had seen the glorious King Henry in a dream."⁴⁷ The following invaluable comment of the chronicler speaks for itself:

The game at which they had met for common recreation is called by some the foot-ball game. It is one in which young men, in country sport, propel a huge ball not by throwing it into the air but by striking and rolling it along the ground, and that not with their hands but with their feet. A game, I say, abominable enough, and, in my judgment at least, more common, undignified, and worthless than any other kind of game, rarely ending but with some loss, accident, or disadvantage to the players themselves. What then? The boundaries had been marked and the game had started; and, when they were striving manfully, kicking in opposite directions, and our hero had thrown himself into the midst of the fray, one of his fellows, whose name I know not, came up against him from in front and kicked him by misadventure, missing his aim at the ball.⁴⁸

Many of these criticisms are, it will be recalled, borne out by inference in the earlier documents cited; here, however, the chronicler has given nice expression to the opinion probably commonly held by the better classes of this pastime of peasants and apprentices.

Not far from this time, in Dame Juliana Berners's *Book of St. Albans* (printed in 1486), is a passage worth quoting at length as showing that the football itself was sufficiently familiar to be useful in describing heraldic designs:

Off ballis in armys here now it shall be shwyte

Nevertheles ye most consyder a differans in theys blasyn gys of theys armys afore and theys that cum after, when ye blaze theym in Latin tong. For other while thys terme '*pila*' in Latyn is take for to be a peese of tymbre to be put under the pelor of a bryge or to syche a like werke as in th'exempull afor. And odyr while this terme '*pila*' is take for a certan rounde instrument to play with. The wiche instrument servys other while to the hande and then it is calde in Latyn '*pila manualis*' as here; and other while it is an instrument for the foote and then it is calde in Latyn '*pila pedalis*', a *footebal*. Therfor it shall be sayd of hym that beris thes armys in Latyn: '*portat tres pilas argenteas in campio rubro*'; et Gallice sic '*il port de gowlez trois pelettis d'argent*'; et Anglice sic 'he berith gowles iii ballis of silver'.⁴⁹

The point of this and of the immediately preceding discussion has been, it may be observed, on the difference in the use of the Latin

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 131; the original Latin is given at the bottom of the pages.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 132.

⁴⁹ William Blades, ed., *The Boke of Saint Albans by Dame Juliana Berners* . . . printed at Saint Albans by the Schoolmaster printer in 1486, reproduced in facsimile with an introduction (London, Elliot Stock, 1881), fol. e, v b-vi a. The division of words, punctuation, and italics are mine.

"*pila*" in the heraldic sense "pile"⁵⁰ and in the heraldic sense "roundle", "pellet";⁵¹ the point is illustrated by a cut in the text.

A decade later, 1496, in 11 Henry VII., we find once again, now at the very close of the Middle Ages, a statute forbidding artificers, laborers, and servants to play at any unlawful game (football is not specifically mentioned) at any time but Christmas;⁵² yet nearly twenty years later (*ca.* 1514) comes what is perhaps the most picturesque and attractive description of football of all. It is in Alexander Barclay's fifth Eclogue, *Amintas and Faustus*. Amintas is speaking:

Eche time and season hath his delite and joyes,
 Loke in the stretes, beholde the little boyes,
 How in fruite season for joy they sing and hop,
 In Lent is eche one full busy with his top;
 And nowe in Winter for all the grevous colde
 All rent and ragged a man may them beholde.
 They have great pleasour supposing well to dine,
 When men be busied in killing of fat swine.
 They get the bladder and blowe it great and thin
 With many beanes and peason put within:
 It ratleth, soundeth, and shineth clere and fayre
 While it is throwen and caste up in the ayre.
 Eche one contendeth and hath a great delite
 With foote and hande the bladder for to smite;
 If it fall to ground, they lifte it up again,
 This wise to labour they count it for no paine:
 Renning and leaping they drive away the colde.
 The sturdie plowman, lustie, strong, and bold,
 Overcommeth the winter with *driving the foote-ball*,
 Forgetting labour and many a grevous fall (vv. 87-106).⁵³

And so on the very border of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance football in medieval England comes to a merry end. We must not, however, stop quite here; for there is still a brief story to be told of the history of the game north of the border.

Popular as football was in Scotland in later times, it does not make its debut in records until far later than in England, and for the medieval period our knowledge of the sport in these regions is

⁵⁰ See *New English Dict.*, s.v., sb.¹⁴.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, s.v., sb.¹ 3.

⁵² John Keble, ed., *Statutes at Large* (London, 1684), p. 318, sect. 4; for a repetition of this statute in 33 Henry VIII. with fines, see *ibid.*, p. 542, sect. 16.

⁵³ B. White, ed., *The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay*, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. no. 175 (1928), pp. 184, 264 (notes); the football allusion here is already in Baptista Spagnola Mantuanus's sixth eclogue, of which the Latin original is printed at the foot of p. 184, by Miss White. In his *Vulgaria*, fol. 282 v (Pynson, London, 1519), William Horman gives the phrase "We wyll play with a ball full of wind", glossing "*Lusui erit nobis follis pugillari spiritu tumens*"; this may well refer to football.

limited in the main to restrictions imposed upon its practice by the first four Jameses.

In 1424 an act of the Parliament of James I. forbade football: "Item. It is statut and the King forbiddes þat na man play at þe fut-ball under þe payne of iiii d. to be raysit to þe lorde of þe lande alsso oft as he be tayntyt, or to þe sherref of þe land or his ministeris gif the lordis will not puniss sic trespassouris."⁵⁴

"þe fut ball and þe golf" are utterly prohibited and archery practice ordered under James II. in 1457,⁵⁵ also under James III. in 1471,⁵⁶ and under James IV. in 1491.⁵⁷ Though the provision remained unrepealed it is known from the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in the year 1497 the king himself indulged in the game: "Item. the xxii day of Aprile giffin to Jame Dog to by fut balles to the King . . . ii s."⁵⁸

With Sir David Lindsay (1490-1555) our narrative of football in Great Britain in the Middle Ages must close. Like Alexander Barclay, Lindsay is a transition figure, representing in his writings at once much that belongs to by-gone tradition, in many regards an ardent apostle of the Reformation. In his *Pleasant Satire of the Three Estates*, written apparently between 1535 and 1540, he makes the playing of football one of the minor failings of his Parson:

Thocht I preich not, I can play at the caiche.
I wait thair is nocht ane amang 30u all
Mair ferilie can play at the fut-ball (ll. 3411-3413).⁵⁹

as well as one of the virtues of his romance hero, Squire William Meldrum:

He wan the pryse above tham all,
Baith at the buttis and the futball.⁶⁰

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⁵⁴ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* (1424-1567), vol. II, p. 5b, cap. 18; also given in *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1910), II, 7, n.

⁵⁵ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, II, 48a and b; given in modernized language and discussed by John Pinkerton, *History of Scotland* (London, 1797), I, 425, 426.

⁵⁶ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, II, 100.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 226b; noted also by C. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1884), II, 302.

⁵⁸ T. Dickson, ed., *Compota Thesauriorum Regum Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1877), I, 330; cf. also p. ccliv for references to earlier legislation already noted.

⁵⁹ Ed. F. Hall (E. E. T. S., 1869), p. 505; on the date of the poem see T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (3d ed., Edinburgh, 1910), p. 219, and p. 229 for the present extract, also given in R. S. Fittis, *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland* (Paisley, 1891), p. 144.

⁶⁰ *The Historie of Squyer Meldrum*, vv. 1047, 1048, ed. David Laing, *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndesay* (Edinburgh, 1879), I, 193.

ASPECTS OF REVOLUTIONARY FINANCE, 1775-1783

THE financial expedients of the American Revolution, interesting enough in themselves, assume added importance in view of the similar, but much more elaborate fiscal phenomena of the World War. This last struggle demonstrated again, as the American and the French revolutions had done before, both the utility and the embarrassing consequences of abundant issues of paper money. It proved easy to meet domestic obligations with depreciated francs, marks, or rubles, and almost as easy to repudiate or to "stabilize" this wartime paper in the end. Under certain conditions governments find it impossible to continue a struggle without resorting to some form of confiscation, a process naturally not pleasing to owners of property. The experience of several wars has shown that the least painful method of achieving this result is the issue of paper money and repudiation. It was in the application of this principle that the leaders of the American Revolution made an involuntary contribution to the history of public finance. This study is an attempt to analyze in some detail the paper money policies of the American states and of the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War.

It would be easy to begin with an ironical comment on the economic unsoundness of these Revolutionary financial devices, as the best of the existing studies actually do. For example, on the title-page of the work of Henry Phillips appears this excerpt from Macbeth:

"The earth hath bubbles, as the water hath,
And these are of them."¹

In similar vein a more recent writer on the same subject opens his survey with the statement that at the very beginning of the struggle, the American government resorted to "the worst of financial expedients, an emission of paper money".² But the pragmatist in economics would approach the subject, if not with admiration, at least with deference and respect. "This Currency, as we manage it, is a wonderful Machine. It performs its Office when we issue it; it pays and clothes Troops, and provides Victuals and Ammunition; and when we are obliged to issue a Quantity excessive, it pays itself

¹ *Historical Sketches of Paper Currency.*

² Nevins, *The American States during and after the Revolution*, p. 470.

off by Depreciation." ³ So wrote that great apostle of practical wisdom, Benjamin Franklin.

One need not quarrel with the economists, if the point at issue is an economic law; but when the Revolution began economic laws were far from being the major consideration. The states and their agent, the Congress, had to find means to prosecute the struggle. They were at war with the greatest power on earth, with no opportunity whatever of selecting the best from a number of financial expedients. A mere glance at the financial situation in April, 1775, will show how desperate the American case was. The total amount of ready money in the country was small, amounting perhaps to \$22,000,000 in paper, with something between \$6,000,000 and \$12,000,000 in specie in addition.⁴ This was not enough to meet the ordinary demands of peace, and war then, as now, was expensive.

Even under the best of conditions, governments have surprisingly few means of securing revenue. Reliance on taxation, the ordinary method, presupposes certain essential conditions, which did not exist in the colonies in 1775. There must be an adequate volume of money in circulation together with general business prosperity, so that the people have incomes from which the levies may be drawn. When the Revolution broke out, the commercial sections of the country were thrown into a temporary financial crisis, because of the interruption of the ordinary lines of trade. For a time in fact all sections suffered. New England felt the loss of the fisheries and of the carrying trade, the Middle states were shut off from their West Indian markets, and the Southern states had difficulty in disposing of their tobacco, lumber, and naval stores. Suppose taxes were imposed; who could pay them?

Borrowing as a resource was at first almost as completely out of the question as taxation. The business depression nearly destroyed the hope of domestic loans, while the subsequent depreciation of paper money made lending unprofitable. Then too the whole project was such a hazardous venture that for nearly three years no foreign government would come openly to the support of the Americans.

Direct confiscation, except of course from the Loyalists, would not have been tolerated in any state at the time. Communities which could be lashed into fury over the financially insignificant stamp duties were sure to be acutely sensitive to any wholesale seizure of their property, no matter for what purpose.

³ To Sam'l Cooper, Apr. 22, 1779, in Franklin, *Works* (Smyth edition), VII. 292-294.

⁴ Bolles, *Financial History of the U. S.*, I. 7-8.

Prevented therefore by circumstances from taxing, borrowing, or confiscating, the Revolutionary leaders were compelled to capitalize their single available asset: the hope of winning the war. The country had ample resources, and though these could not be converted into cash on short notice, they held out the prospect of future profits. If the country could win its independence, prosperity would be certain. This hope could be made financially available by means of paper money.

In the case of one state, New York, as will be seen later, the resort to paper was the result of a serious consideration of alternatives, and of the formal abandonment of other means on the ground that they were beyond reach. The other governments may have gone through the same reasoning. Whether they did or not, they had had ample experience with fiat money, acquired during colonial times, and habit was now reinforced by sheer necessity. It was a case of paper or nothing.

Moderate issues of paper would provide the necessary amount of money for general circulation; if kept within limits, no serious complications would arise. If the issues passed the limits of moderation, however, they would be automatically transformed into taxes with the widest possible incidence, if not into practical confiscation; depreciation would see to that. What the public might lose in depreciation would be counterbalanced by the gain to the government of means to finance the war. In this way the bitterness which heavy taxation or direct confiscation would certainly have engendered might be diffused over a relatively long period, so that it would never become dangerous.

To be sure, depreciated paper would inflict irreparable damage on some individuals, but what of it? So too would the war. There is no more valid reason certainly for mourning over financial losses than over-casualty lists. And as for the ethical principle involved in partial or complete repudiation, that, judged by the accepted standards of war-time morality, is a small matter. In every department of war-time activity except financial, we have long accepted the maxim that the war justifies the means. The public becomes resigned to extraordinary practices: the suppression of private privilege, compulsory military service, the most abandoned distortion of facts to stimulate and maintain the necessary war spirit, in general the purposeful cultivation of a deep and far-reaching spiritual and intellectual dishonesty. For ages all this has been taken for granted as a part of the necessary trappings of war. The rhapsodies of the Revolutionary leaders were morally no better than their financial experiments; perhaps they were just as inevitable.

The history of Revolutionary paper money may be divided roughly into two parts: a survey of the issues, together with the anxious experiments to maintain some semblance of value for them, down to March, 1780; and an account of the processes of repudiation and liquidation after that date. Perhaps the nature and character of the emissions themselves may most conveniently be examined in the accompanying table, designed to show the issues of the period year by year. In this list an attempt is made to distinguish between "bills of credit" and "treasury notes", although there was little valid difference at the time. Both were drafts on credit, both circulated as money, both depreciated, and both were redeemed at ruinously heavy discounts in the end.

The reader possessed of curiosity, patience, calculating and adding machines may figure out the total amount issued in dollars or pounds. There were two standard monetary units: the Spanish milled dollar and the English pound sterling. In New England and Virginia the dollar was valued at six shillings, in New York and North Carolina at eight shillings, in Georgia at five, elsewhere at seven and a half.

It should be noted in passing that Congress put an end to its issues, and provided for their partial repudiation, before all the states were ready to follow suit. In Virginia the heaviest issues of all were made between May, 1780, and November, 1781. But 1780 marks the beginning of a serious attempt at liquidation.

Once the resort to paper had been made, two courses were open. The various legislative bodies might have bound themselves to limited amounts in voting the issues, and pledged their respective groups of constituents to policies of future taxation sufficiently heavy to redeem the paper approximately at par. In that way such enormous drafts on faith and hope—the bills and notes were hardly more than that—might have been avoided, and the quantity issued might have been given a measure of stability. Or, the assemblies might put out the paper with little or no regard for redemption, thereby making depreciation a certainty and repudiation inevitable. This was the alternative chosen. As the account of liquidation will show, the holders of the paper shouldered the loss. Those losses may have constituted a heavier burden of expense, in the aggregate, than would probably have been necessary under the other course, but this burden was distributed over several years, and over a larger part of the population. While taxation would have affected the property owners primarily, repudiation took in everybody who held a single continental or state bill or note. Although it would have been possible to devise more equitable schemes of taxation, no plan could have been more comprehensive in incidence.

There is comparatively little in the record to show how carefully the legislators canvassed the financial situation before they authorized their first emissions. In New York, however, the provincial congress discussed the problem with the merchants. After concluding that a resort to paper money was the only workable expedient, this conference considered the dangers involved, and the means of avoiding them. It declared that "the utmost precaution [must] be used to give the highest credit to such emission, in order to prevent the depreciation of it". Paper money in circulation would "necessarily tend to exclude from commercial circulation the gold and silver now current", and, if there should be too much paper, depreciation was certain. "These considerations", it was declared, "will abate the disposition of the inhabitants of America to receive such paper money." Three months later the same provincial congress considered the possibility of raising funds by means of taxation, and definitely abandoned the project, voting an issue of paper instead.⁹

At the same time that they yielded to necessity in voting a paper currency, the more far-sighted leaders realized the danger of depreciation. If warnings alone could have carried weight, the volume of bills might have remained small. Among the proposals made for the purpose of preventing too great expansion was one for putting an absolute prohibition on issues by the state governments, and for calling in the state paper then outstanding.¹⁰

Among the most striking aspects of Revolutionary money was the lack of anything approaching security, even at the beginning. Two exceptions to this sweeping statement may be noted, and two only. Of the issues in Delaware, amounting to only £55,000 before 1780, all but £10,000 were amply safeguarded by mortgages on real estate.¹¹ In Georgia bills to the amount of £150,000 were to be redeemed from the proceeds of the sale of confiscated Loyalist estates.¹² All the other bills and notes issued up to March, 1780, and the majority after that date, rested upon the foundations of faith, hope, and broken promises. The first issues of New Hampshire were to be redeemed from the proceeds of taxation, to be levied specifically for this purpose in 1776 and each year thereafter until 1782.¹³ In Massachusetts the first paper was issued by the provincial congress, with no guarantee of stability except a promise

⁹ May 30, Aug. 30, 1775, *Journal New York Provincial Congress*, I. 19, 128.

¹⁰ Adams to Warren, July 11, 1775, *Diary of R. Smith*, Sept. 25, 1775, Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, I. 162, 206.

¹¹ *Laws of Delaware*, I. 571-586, II. 608-618, 624-625.

¹² *Georgia Digest* (Watkins edition), pp. 227-229.

¹³ Force, *American Archives*, 4th ser., II. 659-660, 1182, IV. 9-10.

EMISSIONS OF PAPER MONEY

	N. H.	Mass.	R. I.	Conn.	N. Y.	N. J.	Pa.	Del.	Md.	Va.	N. C.	S. C.	Ga.	Cont. Cong.
1775	£ 40,050 ^b	£ 130,000 ^b £ 175,000 ^b	£ 60,000 ^b	£ 150,000 ^b	£ 45,000 ^b	£ 130,000 ^b	£ 162,000 ^b	£ 30,000 ^b	\$266,666 ³	£ 350,000 ⁷	\$125,000 ^b	£ 120,000 ^b	£ 10,000 ^b	\$6,000,000 ^b
1776	£ 42,668 ^b	£ 295,042 ^b £ 556,400 ^b	£ 70,000 ^b \$66,670 ^b £ 40,000 ^b	£ 110,000 ^b £ 80,000 ^b	£ 255,300 ^b	£ 50,000 ^b	£ 85,000 ^b		\$1,070,222 ^b	£ 500,000 ⁷	£ 500,000 ^b	£ 880,000 ^b £ 500,000 ^b \$615,348 ^b		\$19,000,000 ^b
1777	£ 50,000 ^b	£ 500,000 ^b	\$15,000 ^b £ 50,000 ^b	£ 5,250 ^b £ 72,000 ^b			£ 200,000	£ 25,000 ^b		\$2,700,000 ⁷		£ 500,000 ^b £ 1,000,000 ^b		\$13,000,000 ^b
1778		£ 28,000 ^b £ 195,000 ^b	£ 20,000 ^b	£ 335,000 ^b						\$2,700,000 ^b	£ 850,000 ^b	\$1,500,000 ^b £ 100,000 ^b	£ 150,000 ^b	\$63,500,300 ^b
1779		£ 500,020 ^b	£ 60,000 ^b	£ 49,000						£ 1,000,000 ⁷	£ 500,000 ^b	\$5,000,000 ^b 6,000,000 ^b of "money"		\$90,052,080 ^b
1780		£ 460,000 ⁷ £ 9,049,830 ^b	£ 20,000 ^b £ 39,000 ⁷	£ 420,000 ^b	\$487,000 ⁷ voted 75,750 ⁷ issued		£ 100,000 ^b \$1,250,000 ⁷		£ 30,000 ^b	\$1,666,660 ⁷ £ 8,000,000 ⁷	£ 1,240,000 ^b			
1781	\$280,000 ⁷	£ 511,000 ^b £ 800,000 ^b			Balance issued March 1781 \$411,250	£ 30,000 ^b	£ 500,000	\$113,333 ¹⁷	£ 200,000 ⁷	£ 35,000,000 ^b				
1782													£ 43,100 ^b	
1783		£ 300,000 ^b				£ 31,259 ^b	\$300,000 ^b				£ 100,000 ^b			

³ Bills of Credit.

^b Treasury Notes, bearing interest.

⁷ New Emission.

¹⁷ For refunding old certificates.

to pay.¹⁴ Later, when the General Court convened, new issues followed, to be redeemed, as in the case of New Hampshire, by future taxation.¹⁵ Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York adopted the same procedure.¹⁶ In no case were these promised taxes actually voted. For the next issue New York made no mention of taxation; these new bills were secured by the public faith of the state.¹⁷

The first notes issued in Virginia were supposed to be amply secured by a highly elaborate plan of taxation, actually embodied in law, but a subsequent measure repealed this part of the programme, leaving the notes without support.¹⁸ In November, 1781, just before the admission of bankruptcy, the legislature issued £20,000,000 in notes, pledging the "public faith" for their redemption.¹⁹ The value of this pledge might be measured by the scale subsequently adopted for redemption: 1000 to 1. The paper of the other states presented no peculiarities in the way of real value.

When Congress issued the Continental notes, it assigned to each state a quota for redemption,²⁰ but states which could not redeem their own bills were in no position to assume additional burdens. Up to September 3, 1779, the Continental bills issued and actually in circulation amounted to \$159,948,880, while by the same time the total of the taxes which the states had contributed to Congress, presumably for purposes of redemption, amounted to the mere trifle of \$3,027,560.²¹

Depreciation was the inevitable consequence. How early it began no one can tell exactly, because the first recorded references to it are mere admissions of an existing fact. But there are suggestions of declining value even before the end of the first summer. On August 23, 1775, the General Court of Massachusetts found it necessary to provide, by law, that the state bills of credit were to be received by the public treasury, and in "all payments in this colony, without any abatement or discount, upon any pretence whatever".²² Two weeks later the provincial congress of North Carolina branded as an enemy to his country the person who should demand a higher

¹⁴ May 3, 20, July 7, 1775, *Journal Massachusetts Provincial Congress*, pp. 185-187, 246, 464-465.

¹⁵ Aug. 23, 1775, *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, V. 416-418.

¹⁶ *Rhode Island Colony Records*, VII. 321, 355, 389-390; *Connecticut Colony Records*, XV. 13-14; *Journal New York Provincial Congress*, I. 133-134, 223.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 540, 571.

¹⁸ Hening, *Statutes*, IX. 65-71, 349-368.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, X. 430.

²⁰ *Journal Continental Congress* (Ford ed.), II. 103, 207, 221-223.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XV. 1019, 1051-1062.

²² Aug. 23, 1775, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 416-418.

price in paper than in coin.²³ Writing probably in 1780, Franklin declared that during the first year of the war the Continental bills of credit passed current at par in the United States.²⁴ However, on November 23, 1775, the Continental Congress took official cognizance of complaints that "sundry persons" in Philadelphia were refusing "to receive in payment or give a currency to" the bills of the state of Pennsylvania, and of the Continental Congress.²⁵

By the second summer, that of 1776, there was abundant proof of serious depreciation. In New Hampshire penalties were provided for those who should "directly or Indirectly receive or pay any of the Bills" of credit for sums less than the face value thereof; offenders were to be permanently barred from holding civil or military offices in the state, and to be fined £50 for each offense. The offering of goods for sale at lower prices for coin than for paper was likewise punishable by a fine of £50 for each offense.²⁶ Similar laws were enacted in the other New England states.²⁷

In New York at this time the evidence was not so clear. There the issues had been kept within bounds, and by September, 1776, when the other states were turning out paper faster than ever, New York found it impossible to manufacture any, because the British had captured the paper mills, and dispersed the printers.²⁸ But in the Middle and Southern colonies generally there was official evidence of serious depreciation, in some cases by 1776, in all by 1777.²⁹ Not only the state paper, but the Continental notes all over the country were taking the same course downward.

While the people of the United States were being forced into familiarity with the hard facts of depreciation, the leaders were attempting to explain the causes of the phenomenon. There is no doubt whatever that the more clear-headed knew perfectly well that the real cause of the constantly rising prices lay in excessive issues of fiat money. At one of the conferences of representatives from the New England states, resolutions were adopted, declaring, among other things, that the paper bills and notes in circulation "far exceed the Quantity necessary for a Medium of Exchange, and of Course

²³ Sept. 7, 1775, *N. C. Col. Records*, X. 135.

²⁴ B. Franklin, "Of the Paper Money of the U. S.", in *Works*, IX. 23-26.

²⁵ Nov. 23, 1775, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, III. 267.

²⁶ July 3, 1776, *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 21, 23.

²⁷ Apr. 13, 1776, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 472-473; July 18, 1776, *R. I. Col. Records*, VII. 591-592; Oct., 1776, *Conn. State Records*, I. 5-6.

²⁸ Sept. 15, 1776, Force, *American Archives*, 5th ser., II. 710-711.

²⁹ Feb. 11, 1777, *N. J. Laws* (Wilson ed.), p. 7; Feb. 22, 1777, *Laws of Del.*, II. 599-602; Jan. 29, Mar. 19, 1777, *Pa. Statutes at Large*, IX. 34-40, 95-97; May, 1776, *Hening, Statutes*, IX. 143-149; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II. 172; Nov. 22, 1777, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, IX. 154.

the Surpluss must greatly tend to depreciate the whole".³⁰ In similar strain the legislature of Virginia found that the notes already in circulation, "greatly exceeding the medium of commerce, may occasion a depreciation".³¹

An understanding of the causes of depreciation was one thing, and this some of the Revolutionary leaders certainly had. Thoughtful Americans had already, in effect, resolved their paper money problem into a perfect syllogism, with premises allowing only one conclusion. A frank acceptance of the facts must inevitably have led to a change in policy; not necessarily to a resort to coin, but at least to a diminution of the quantity of notes.

When facts are uncomfortable, however, political leaders not infrequently ignore them, so far as they can, and fall back on a maze of absurd notions and muddy thinking. So it was here; not being prepared to undertake any change in policy, they sought, and professed to find, other causes of the rise in prices.

For example, in May, 1776, the Virginia convention ponderously explained that depreciation was caused by a refusal to accept the notes, or by the demand of higher prices in notes than in coin, or by "other devices . . . whereby the credit of the said notes may be impaired", and a year later the regular assembly found the cause of the trouble in "the pernicious artifices of the enemies of American liberty, to impair the credit of the said bills, by raising the nominal value" of coin.³² Similar sentiments found official expression in the legislatures all over the country. The General Court of Massachusetts attributed the drop in the value of paper to "the avaracious conduct of many persons, by daily adding to the now exorbitant price of every necessary and convenient article of life".³³ Connecticut too found human malevolence at the root of the trouble as implied in the following preamble: "And whereas, some evil-minded persons, inimical to the liberties of the United States of America, have endeavored to depreciate the bills of credit of this and the said United States." Many citizens of this state, so one of its laws declared, "are so abandoned and lost to all the feelings of humanity as to prey upon the bowels of their country". And again, more specifically, "the rapid and exorbitant rise upon the necessities and conveniences of life . . . is chiefly occasioned by monopolizers, the great pest of society".³⁴ In Pennsylvania the legislature declared that "the prices of goods and merchandise are greatly enhanced by

³⁰ *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 813, notes.

³¹ Oct., 1777, *Hening, Statutes*, IX. 349-368.

³² *Ibid.*, IX. 147, 297-299.

³³ Jan. 25, 1777, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 583-589.

³⁴ Oct., Nov., 1775, *Conn. State Records*, I. 5-6, 9-10, 62-63.

the practices and combinations of evil and designing men . . .".³⁵ Finally the Continental Congress explained to the country that the cause of depreciation lay partly in excessive issues, and partly in "the arts of our open and secret enemies", and in "the shameful avidity of too many of our professed friends".³⁶ It was much more comfortable to accept this theory of personal malevolence than to admit that excessive issues were the fundamental cause of the trouble. If this theory were true, the remedy was simple. Provide facilities for circumventing the offenders, and for punishing them when caught, and the thing was done. With the wicked removed from the scale, the paper would jump to par. But this pleasing conclusion had been reached by a devious course of irrational thinking, and it led to an equally irrational tangle of experimental measures, all of doubtful value, and, as the event proved, some of pernicious consequences.

The difficulties involved in trying to circumvent known facts and to avoid an inevitable conclusion were vividly described in a letter written in 1778 by one of the members of the Continental Congress. All the expedients tried during a long course of experimentation, the writer declared, had taught him nothing regarding public finance. He admitted, however, that he had "unlearned" much. Then he went on: "for although an amazing Deal of Time has been spent on this important Subject; tho one Hypothesis has been piled upon another like Pelion on Ossa; tho Scheme has been tacked to Scheme, and System succeeded System, while the speculative Genius and playfull Fancies of some of our Brethren have again and again in amendments and a variety of Substitutes exhausted themselves, and finally, when all their pretty wiredrawn Plans were crumbled away in the handling, have often in common Consent assisted to sweep away the rubbish, and begin *de novo*;" from all this feverish effort, the writer had learned merely what would *not* do. "When I shall be happy enough to determine what *will* do Heaven only knows—my Enthusiasm only remains."³⁷

It would be hard to think of any possible expedient for maintaining or raising the value of paper money—short of putting actual security behind it—which the legislatures of this period left untried. Never before had there been such an illustration of the naïve faith of Americans in the miracle-working powers of the law. Statute followed statute, in rapid succession, in the ambitious attempt to make

³⁵ Jan. 2, 1778, *Pa. Statutes at Large*, IX. 177-180.

³⁶ Nov. 22, 1777, Sept. 13, 1779, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, IX. 954, XV. 1052-1054.

³⁷ Scudder to Lee, Dec. 9, 1778, Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, III. 523-524.

the paper worth its face value. Penalties for violation became more and more extreme, until the utter futility of it had been satisfactorily demonstrated to all but the numbest of minds. Then the whole country acquiesced in the inevitability of repudiation.

First of all, in this process of creating value by statute, the states declared their own notes, and those of the Continental Congress, legal tender.³⁸ Rhode Island took this step as early as May 3, 1775, following it a little later with the warning that the person who refused to accept paper money would "incur the displeasure of the General Assembly; and [he] ought to be held and esteemed as an enemy to its credit, reputation and happiness; and totally destitute of that regard and obligation he is under to his country and the cause of liberty . . ."; furthermore, so the assembly proclaimed, "the good people of this colony and America ought to withdraw all communication from such person or persons". Although Rhode Island did not declare the bills of other states legal tender, the legislature made it plain that good citizens were expected to receive them without protest.

Massachusetts made her own notes and those of all the other colonies except Canada and Nova Scotia legal tender. Two years later the legal tender sanction was withdrawn from all notes except those of Massachusetts and the Continental Congress. In Connecticut, notes of other colonies had been in circulation, but in May, 1777, they were officially banned.

Making the notes legal tender was not always enough because some people would not take them. New Hampshire provided that in case a creditor should refuse to accept bills of the state or of Congress in settlement of a debt, and should sue the debtor, then the defendant would be awarded damages to the amount of three times the costs of the suit.³⁹ Virginia went further, and provided that the refusal to receive Virginia notes or Continental bills tendered in settlement of a debt would cancel the obligation.⁴⁰ In North Carolina a person who even spoke disrespectfully of the paper was to be "treated as an enemy to his country".⁴¹

³⁸ The following references give the important legal tender acts: July 3, 1776, *Laws of N. H.*, IV, 21-23; *Jour. Mass. Provincial Congress*, 246-247, 416; Aug. 23, 1775, May 6, 1777, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V, 416-418, 639-640; May 3, Aug., 1775, *R. I. Col. Records*, VII, 320-321, 370; Oct., 1776, May, 1777, *Conn. State Records*, I, 5-6, 231-232; *Jour. N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, I, 819; Sept. 20, 1776, *N. J. Laws* (Wilson ed.), pp. 2-3; Aug. 1, 1776, *Pa. Statutes at Large*, IX, 8-10; Feb. 22, 1777, *Laws of Delaware*, II, 599-602; Apr. 20, 1777, *Laws of Md.* (Kilty ed.), I, 446; May, 1777, *Hening, Statutes*, IX, 297-298; Apr., 1777, *N. C. State Records*, XXIV, 33-35.

³⁹ Apr. 8, 1777, *Laws of N. H.*, IV, 85-87.

⁴⁰ *Hening, Statutes*, IX, 297-298.

⁴¹ Sept. 7, 1775, *N. C. Col. Records*, X, 194-195.

The task of making people believe that these paper notes were worth their face value was serious enough, in itself, without any complications. But additional difficulties persisted in intruding themselves, not the least of which was counterfeiting. In the majority of states the penalty for this offense was death.⁴² In New Hampshire a person guilty of imposing this "Vile Cheat on unwary and less discerning Persons" was to sit on the gallows for an hour, with a rope around his neck, then to be publicly whipped, with not over 39 stripes, to suffer imprisonment for not over six months, to be barred from holding any office in the state, and to be compelled to pay the party defrauded three times the amount involved. If the offender should leave the state, to avoid punishment, he would be denied the power of conveying title to land, or of giving any valid security whatever.⁴³

In Massachusetts counterfeiting was punishable at first by fine, whipping, and deprivation of the right to hold office; later by death. For altering a note, the offender might be sentenced to the pillory, to have one ear cut off, to have the end of the right thumb cut off, at the root of the nail, to be publicly whipped, with not over 39 stripes, and to be imprisoned for not over six months, without privilege of bail.⁴⁴

Perhaps North Carolina furnished the best illustration of bizarre punishment for counterfeiting. Declaring in 1779 that the earlier laws were an insufficient deterrent, the legislature passed a new law, providing that for the first offense the victim should stand in the pillory for three hours; have his right ear nailed to the pillory and cut off; be whipped with 39 stripes on his bare back; and be branded with a red hot iron on the right cheek with the letter "C" and on the left with the letter "M", said brands to be at least one inch in length, and three-quarters of an inch in width; to be imprisoned for not more than one year; and to forfeit one-half of his property. For the second offense the death penalty was provided.⁴⁵

Apart from counterfeiting and its attendant schemes, the one insuperable difficulty with paper money had been the general disinclination to take it at its face value. A bill might bear the stamp of

⁴² May 6, 1777, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 639-640; Mar. 8, 1779, *Laws of the State of N. Y.*, I. 120-121; Feb. 22, 1777, *Laws of Del.*, II. 608-618; Aug. 1, 1776, Jan. 29, 1777, *Pa. Statutes at Large*, IX. 8-10, 34-40; May, 1776 (Va.), *Hening, Statutes*, IX. 134; Apr., 1777, *N. C. State Records*, XXIV. 33-35; Apr. 9, 1776, *S. C. Publ. Laws* (Grimke), p. 283; Mar. 12, 1774, *Ga. Col. Records*, XIX. (pt. 2), 3-8.

⁴³ July 3, 1776, June 25, 1777, *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 21-23, 101-102.

⁴⁴ Apr. 13, 1776, May 6, 1777, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 472-473, 639-640.

⁴⁵ Oct., 1779, *N. C. State Records*, XXIV. 277-278.

six shillings, but nobody took the stamp seriously. People generally, especially those with anything to sell, preferred to determine the worth of the bill themselves. It would seem that the governments responsible for the money had done all they could in declaring the six-shilling note legal tender for six shillings. One thing more they could do, and that was to fix prices in terms of the paper money. Then the person who tried to take two six-shilling notes instead of one for a bushel of wheat might find himself in jail. At the same time, all doubts regarding the soundness of the paper money must disappear. If the law said the six-shilling note was the equivalent in value of a bushel of wheat, so it must be. It seemed to occur to few that a law declaring a certain piece of paper worth a bushel of wheat would command no greater respect than a law declaring the same piece worth six shillings.

Be that as it may; in the fall of 1776 Connecticut made the attempt. Declaring that "the rapid and exorbitant rise upon the necessities and conveniences of life . . . is chiefly occasioned by monopolizers, the great pest of society", the legislature adopted a schedule of maximum prices. In arriving at the various rates the price of farm labor was taken as the standard of value, and commodity prices were determined with reference to it.⁴⁶

Late in December, 1776, after the enactment of this Connecticut law, a conference of representatives from the New England states met at Providence, Rhode Island. There they examined the prevailing financial ills, with special reference to depreciation and prices. The result of the conference was the draft of a comprehensive price-fixing measure entitled: "An Act to Prevent Monopoly and Oppression", which was duly submitted to the four legislatures concerned.⁴⁷

The preamble ran as follows: "Whereas the avaricious conduct of many persons, by daily adding to the now exorbitant price of every necessary and convenient article of life and encreasing the price of labour in general, unless a speedy and effectual stop be put thereto, will be attended with the most fatal and pernicious consequences, as it not only disheartens and disaffects the soldiers . . . and distresses the poorer part of the community by obliging them to give unreasonable prices for those things that are absolutely necessary to their very existence." The purpose of this measure was to fix maximum prices for practically all necessities, including labor, food, and clothing. With only minor changes this proposed draft

⁴⁶ Nov., Dec., 1776, *Conn. State Records*, I. 62-63, 97-100.

⁴⁷ *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 669-673, notes.

was enacted into law by the legislatures of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.⁴⁸

But the hoped-for results did not follow. Instead of questioning the soundness of their policy, however, the legislatures passed new laws, in the spring of 1777, authorizing somewhat higher price levels.⁴⁹ These were equally ineffective, and it became evident that this effort to fix the value of paper in terms of commodities was as complete a failure as the legal tender acts. Frankly admitting this, the General Court of Massachusetts proposed another conference, this one to include delegates from New York as well as New England. The representatives came together at Springfield, Massachusetts, and spent the time from July 30 to August 5, 1777, in another effort to make an economic diagnosis. This body advised, among other things, that the whole price-fixing programme be abandoned.⁵⁰ During the fall the New England legislatures followed this advice. In doing so, the General Court of Massachusetts declared somewhat ruefully that the measures had been "very far from answering the salutary purposes for which they were intended".⁵¹

From the beginning the Continental Congress had watched this New England experiment with marked interest and enthusiasm, planning to urge a similar course upon the other states.⁵² For various reasons, however, Congress failed to make a formal recommendation on the subject until November 22, 1777, after the hopelessness of the scheme had been conclusively demonstrated. Then it advised a series of regional conferences, to enact measures similar to those just repealed by the New England states.⁵³

During 1778, 1779, and the first part of 1780 there were more interstate conferences, congressional recommendations, and some laws, all aiming at the limitation of prices by statute. Connecticut passed its third measure in the winter of 1778, with the same results as before. At about the same time, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania made their first experiments of the kind.⁵⁴ By that time

⁴⁸ *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 78-82; *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 583-589; *R. I. Col. Records*, VIII. 85-91.

⁴⁹ Apr. 10, 1777, *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 88-92; May 10, 1777, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 642-647; Mar., 1777, *R. I. Col. Records*, VIII. 183-185; May, 1777, *Conn. State Records*, I. 230-231.

⁵⁰ June 25, 1777, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 810-811.

⁵¹ *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 126; *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 733-734; *Conn. State Records*, I. 366.

⁵² Feb. 7, 1777, John Adams, in Burnett, *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, II. 237.

⁵³ *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, IX. 956-957.

⁵⁴ *Conn. State Records*, I. 524-528, 607-620, II. 12-13, 134; *Laws of the State of N. Y.*, I. 71-75; *N. J. Laws* (Wilson ed.), pp. 34, 104, 118-119; *Pa. Statutes at Large*, IX. 236-238, 283-284.

the American leaders had accumulated ample evidence to prove the total inadequacy of the scheme, a fact recognized by the Continental Congress. In June, 1778, that body advised the repeal of all price-fixing acts, declaring that "Limitations upon the Prices of Commodities are not only ineffectual for the Purposes proposed, but likewise productive of very evil Consequences to the great Detriment of the public Service and greivous Oppression of Individuals".⁵⁵

But memories are short, especially where the teaching of experience is concerned, and after the lapse of a year some leaders were again advocating this same forlorn hope. At a conference of New England representatives, meeting at Hartford in October, 1779, a resolution was adopted declaring that a limitation of prices, if adopted by a sufficiently large number of states, would have a tendency to prevent further depreciation. To secure adequate support, the Hartford meeting urged that a conference of delegates from all states north of and including Virginia should meet at Philadelphia, early in 1780.⁵⁶ Taking new courage from this meeting at Hartford, the members of Congress ignored their advice of June, 1778, and urgently requested all states to take part in this last effort to save their money.⁵⁷

Of the states invited all but Virginia and New York sent delegates, although one at least, Massachusetts, did so with no delusive expectation of any benefits whatever. The General Court was afraid of another failure, with a further weakening of the authority of government in general. The previous attempts, so that body declared, instead of bringing the desired results, had "shut up our Granaries, discouraged Husbandry and Commerce and starved our Sea Ports . . . created such a stagnation of Business and such a Withholding of articles as has oblidged the People to give up its measure or submit to starving". Furthermore, the earlier laws had served to throw "the Honest and Concientious part of the Community into the hands of Sharpers, Monopolizers and Extortioners".⁵⁸

This Philadelphia conference appointed a committee to prepare a comprehensive schedule of prices, to be reported at a later meeting, and then adjourned to April 4, 1780.⁵⁹ That was the end of the story.

⁵⁵ June 4, 1778, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, XI. 569.

⁵⁶ *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 1258; *Conn. State Records*, II. 414-415, 562-571.

⁵⁷ Nov. 19, 1779, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, XV. 1290.

⁵⁸ *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 1263.

⁵⁹ *Conn. State Records*, II. 572-579.

In the meantime Congress and some of the states partly kept pace with depreciation by increasing their issues to enormous amounts; then, by the spring of 1780, the Continental Congress resolved to confess bankruptcy, and to take refuge in repudiation.

The process of getting rid of the accumulated masses of paper was inevitably slow, lasting from the first suggestions, in 1776, to the end of the war. On December 25, 1776, the New England conference at Providence advised against the issue of any more bills of credit, and urged the state governments to try borrowing and taxation.⁶⁰ Two months later the Continental Congress gave similar counsel to all the states.⁶¹ Again, in the summer of 1777, the Springfield conference asked the states to call in their bills of credit, either by means of heavy taxation, or by substituting treasury notes for them.⁶²

This last suggestion brought results, of a kind, because it afforded the opportunity for something very dear to legislative bodies in general: motion without progress. By the spring of 1778 the New England states retired their bills of credit, issuing treasury notes in exchange.⁶³ This was a measure of evasion rather than contraction, a game of beating the Devil around the stump. One kind of depreciating paper gave way to another. Having given this evidence of thinking about the problem, the states then waited for Congress to take the initiative.

The course of Congress in dealing with the nearly \$200,000,000 in Continental bills of credit was for a time sufficiently lacking in candor to invite charges of intentional dishonesty. On September 13, 1779, that body drew up in the form of a circular letter to all the states a long dissertation on paper money. Declaring that the faith of the United States had been pledged to redeem the bills, and that the states were able to redeem them, Congress asked whether there was "any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the public faith?" In replying to its own question, Congress declared that it was "with great regret and reluctance that we can prevail upon ourselves to take the least notice of a question which involves in it a doubt so injurious to the honor and dignity of America". Then it

⁶⁰ *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 813.

⁶¹ Feb. 15, 1777, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, VII. 124-125.

⁶² *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 814.

⁶³ In New Hampshire bills to the amount of £73,568 were thus exchanged; in Massachusetts bills to the amount of £430,079; in Rhode Island bills to the amount of £150,000; in Connecticut bills to the amount of £235,000 (estimated, records not clear). Nov. 29, 1777, *N. H. Laws*, IV. 126-127; Oct. 13, 1777, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 734-737, 815; May, 1778, *R. I. Col. Records*, VIII. 418; Aug., 1777, Feb., 1778, *Conn. State Records*, I. 531, 606.

referred to reports in circulation, to the effect that "as the Congress made the money they can also destroy it; and that it will exist no longer than they find it convenient to permit it". Such reports were worthy of no credence whatever, the circular declared:

It is really astonishing that the mind of a single virtuous citizen in America should be influenced by them. You surely are convinced that it is no more in their power to annihilate your money than your independence, and that any act of theirs for either of those purposes would be null and void.

We should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honor of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to shew the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt faithless republic would be a novelty in the political world, and appear among reputable nations like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons. The pride of America revolts from the idea. [No one could believe that the people can ever be] prevailed upon to countenance, support or permit so ruinous, so disgraceful a measure . . . it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed.⁶⁴

This circular was full of generalities of the sort quoted above, but nowhere in it is there a flat statement that the bills would not be repudiated. Six months later, on March 18, 1780, Congress prepared to retire the outstanding bills, at the ratio of forty to one, thereby reducing an obligation of \$200,000,000 to \$5,000,000.⁶⁵ By this simple process a principle characterized as "null and void", "ruinous", and "disgraceful" had been transformed into the law of the land.

Less than a year from the date of the partial repudiation, in a report on the debt, Congress officially rated the bills at seventy-five to one.⁶⁶ On May 10, 1781, a Congressional committee advised that after July 1 next the bills should cease to circulate.⁶⁷ At this date they drop officially out of the picture, but they continued to circulate for a time, with a value at the end of one thousand to one.⁶⁸

In arranging for the liquidation of the Continental bills of credit, Congress planned for a new issue of paper, to be put out with at least a gesture in the direction of security. The states were assigned quotas of a total of not to exceed \$10,000,000 of these new notes. These notes were to be issued by the states, instead of by Congress; to bear interest at five per cent., payable by the states; and to be redeemed by the states, or in case any state should fail to make good,

⁶⁴ *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, XV. 1051-1062.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI. 262-267.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX. 165.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XX. 495.

⁶⁸ Breck, *Historical Sketch of Continental Paper Money*, pp. 18-19.

by Congress.⁶⁹ But these "new emission" notes were satisfactory to nobody. The interest-bearing feature meant an additional burden for the states to carry. Then, too, states which had allowed the earlier "Continentials" to drop to the vanishing point, and which were at that very time engaged in repudiating their own paper (see below), could hardly be expected to provide satisfactory security for a new lot. Less than half the authorized total—about \$4,468,625—was put into circulation, and in a year even these had depreciated at least 100 per cent.⁷⁰ Congress then entirely abandoned its paper money programme, and advised the states to repeal all laws making any kind of bills a legal tender.⁷¹ By 1781 the state legal tender acts had been repealed everywhere except in South Carolina; there the repeal came the following year.

So ended the efforts to keep the Continental bills in circulation. The losses involved in this repudiation would have been staggering, had they been inflicted suddenly, but that was not the case. As the money passed from hand to hand the ordinary individual suffered little. The merchant, and even the laborer, could charge enough more to protect himself. The ones most seriously affected were those not actively engaged in labor or commerce, those dependent on incomes limited to a definite number of pounds or dollars. For those who could pass the bills of credit on to another victim without delay the paper structure was perhaps distinctly advantageous. As long as the output of bills and notes continued, there was no burden of taxation. The governments were drawing their resources from depreciation, rather than from revenue.

This fact, certainly understood and appreciated in Congress, was doubtless borne in upon most of the men in public life at the time. On three different occasions between 1779 and 1781 Franklin with his customary lucidity explained the effects of a depreciating currency. Regretting that orphans, widows, and those dependent on fixed incomes were the chief sufferers, the Pennsylvania philosopher found compensation for this in the effects on society in general. The public debt, he declared, "is proportionably diminish'd with the Depreciation; and this by a kind of imperceptible Tax, every one having paid a Part of it in the Fall of Value that took place between his receiving and Paying such Sums as pass'd thro' his hands. For it should always be remembered, that the original Intention was to sink the Bills by Taxes, which would as effectually extinguish the Debt as an actual Redemption". A year and a half later, he wrote

⁶⁹ Mar. 18, 1780, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, XVI. 262-267.

⁷⁰ Apr. 15, 1781, *ibid.*, XIX. 399-400.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, XIX. 225; XX. 501.

that "so much of the public debt has in this manner been insensibly paid, that the remainder . . . does not exceed six millions sterling". And again, he wrote that depreciation operated as "a *gradual tax*" upon the people; "their business has been done and paid for by the paper money, and every man has paid his share of the tax according to the time he retained any of the money in his hands, and to the depreciation during that time. Thus it has proved a tax on money, a kind of property very difficult to be taxed in any other mode; and it has fallen more equally than many other taxes, as those people paid most who, being richest, had most money passing through their hands".⁷²

Gouverneur Morris put the same conclusion into words even earlier than Franklin. Writing to Washington in 1778, he explained that: "After all the Debt does not increase for a certain Sterling Sum, which would have paid it one Year ago will pay it now. The Depreciation in the Interim has operated as a Tax."⁷³

In Pennsylvania the legislature, perhaps taking its inspiration from Franklin, stated the case more plainly than Congress had done. The measure providing for the acceptance of the forty to one ratio contains this observation: "And whereas the evils and inconveniences hitherto attending the depreciation of the currency of the United States, have in a great measure been balanced by a real reduction and discharge of a very great part of the national debt, insomuch that it would now be a manifest public injustice as well as a burden intolerable to be borne to tax the good people of this state or of the United States to pay that part of the public debt over again which by a kind of common consent has been discharged by the said depreciation."⁷⁴

As it transpired after March, 1780, the selection of the rate of exchange at forty to one was not a final settlement, but merely a convenient point of departure. Continental bills remained in circulation for some time thereafter, and depreciated more rapidly than ever. Then there were all the varieties of state paper: bills of credit, treasurer's notes, and almost no end of certificates. Something had to be done with these. But the process of liquidation was a complicated one, involving considerably more than the elimination of the fiat money. During the period of depreciation debts of all kinds had been contracted, private as well as public. The state governments had to devise measures whereby these debts could be reduced to their proper specie value, standards which the courts

⁷² B. Franklin to Samuel Cooper, Apr. 22, 1779, to Thomas Ruston, Oct. 9, 1780, "Of the Paper Money of the U. S.", in *Works*, VII. 292-294, VIII. 151-152, and IX. 231 *et seq.*

⁷³ Oct. 26, 1778, Burnett, *Letters of Members of Cont. Cong.*, III. 462-463.

⁷⁴ June 1, 1780, *Pa. Statutes at Large*, X. 209.

could use, and which the people would accept. Of course it was impossible to calculate precisely the value of this outstanding indebtedness; all that could be hoped for was some more or less arbitrary approximation.

To settle this difficulty each state government set up by law a so-called table or scale, designed to show the specie value of the Continental bills, and of state bills, notes, and certificates for every day of the period of depreciation.⁷⁵ With the help of these the real, or rather the legal, value of any debt, note, or mortgage could be determined to the satisfaction of the courts. Private contracts and state securities were measured with the same stick.

These tables were all alike in principle, but they varied more or less in the values assigned to the paper at different times. Those of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island were substantially alike. Connecticut and New York agreed, and differed somewhat from the three above. New Jersey had one of its own, with differences from all the others. Those of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia were nearly alike, while those of Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were different from each other, and from all the others. Perhaps the most important of these differences was the date set for the beginning of depreciation. Although there is clear evidence of depreciation in some states in 1775, the earliest date recognized in these scales was January 1, 1777. In three states the date selected was September, 1777, and in one case December 1, 1777. Similarly the precise date when paper reached the forty to one ratio varied somewhat in the different states.

With the help of these scales the process of liquidation could be completed. In New England the bills of credit had already been exchanged for treasurer's notes. These notes were subsequently reduced to proper specie value, in accordance with the scales.⁷⁶

In other parts of the country the paper money was made redeemable at heavy discount, by processes varying more or less from state

⁷⁵ The various state scales may be found as follows: Sept. 1, 1781, *N. H. Laws*, IV. 420-421; Sept. 29, 1780, *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 1412-1416; Nov., 1780, *R. I. Col. Records*, IX. 281-284; Oct., 1780, *Conn. State Records*, III. 170-171; Mar. 30, 1781, *Laws of the State of N. Y.*, I. 374-377; Jan. 6, 1781, Dec. 25, 1781, *N. J. Laws* (Wilson ed.), pp. 159-163, 245-248; June 18, 1781, *Laws of Del.*, II. 748-750; Dec. 18, 1780, *Pa. Statutes at Large*, X. 233-238; June 27, 1781, *Laws of Md.* (Kilty ed.), I. 554-555; Nov., 1781, (Va.) Hening, *Statutes*, X. 465; Apr., 1783, *N. C. State Records*, XXIV. 485-488; Mar. 16, 1783, *S. C. Laws* (Grimke ed.), 325-327; Feb. 17, 1783, *Ga. Col. Records*, vol. XIX., pt. 2, pp. 183-200.

⁷⁶ *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 439-441; *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 1178-1183; *Mass. Laws and Resolves*, 1783, pp. 175-176; *R. I. Col. Records*, IX. 568; *Conn. State Records*, III. 170-171.

to state. In New York an act of February 22, 1781, made all state bills issued before June 15, 1780, receivable for debts due the state, at the rate of forty to one; by the following November the rate was put down to one hundred twenty-eight to one.⁷⁷ What happened to the New Jersey paper is not entirely clear, although it was apparently redeemed at rates fixed in the depreciation scale.⁷⁸ Delaware provided for the redemption of state bills, in accordance with the scale, up to August 1, 1785; after that date the bills were not redeemable.⁷⁹ The Pennsylvania bills issued before 1778 were made redeemable at a rate to be determined by the president and council; in 1782, those still outstanding were made receivable for arrears of taxes, and for nothing else, at their face value. The issues of 1780 and 1781 were receivable for all debts due the state at the rate of \$1.00 in these bills to \$75.00 in the Continental bills.⁸⁰ In Maryland the state bills were redeemable at forty to one, up to April 1, 1781; after that date they became mere waste paper.⁸¹ The mass of treasury notes in Virginia was liquidated by an act of October 1, 1782; this paper was to be redeemed at 1000 to 1.⁸² The North Carolina paper was exchanged at 800 to 1.⁸³ South Carolina provided for a settlement in accordance with the scale of depreciation.⁸⁴ In Georgia the bills of credit were rated at 1000 to 1.⁸⁵ By such means provision was made for the liquidation of all state debts, although they had not all been actually paid off when the new federal government was organized. Hamilton's assumption plan took care of those remaining.

Although this study is concerned primarily with paper money, it should perhaps include a brief reference to taxation. No adequate treatment of this important aspect of Revolutionary finance can be made until the manuscript records of the state treasuries have been examined. Neither the present writer, nor any other, so far as published material shows, has found time to undertake the task. It is simple enough to describe the tax laws of the time, but the laws do not tell the story. What is needed is a survey of the processes of collection, and an exact statement of the collections themselves. By 1779 all the states were experimenting with schemes of taxation, very gingerly to be sure, but the available evidence makes it plain

⁷⁷ *Laws of the State of N. Y.*, I. 328, 406-407.

⁷⁸ Dec. 25, 1781, *N. J. Laws*, pp. 245-248.

⁷⁹ *Laws of Del.*, II. 719-738, 801-812.

⁸⁰ *Pa. Statutes at Large*, X. 301-308, 472-473.

⁸¹ *Laws of Md.*, I. 529-533.

⁸² Hening, *Statutes*, X. 456-457.

⁸³ *N. C. State Records*, XXIV. 485-488.

⁸⁴ *Laws of S. C.*, pp. 325-327.

⁸⁵ *Ga. Col. Records*, vol. XIX., pt. 2, pp. 183-200, 442-450.

that the sums collected fell far short of those voted. It would appear that during the war there was no effective collection of taxes anywhere in the United States before 1780; in some states there was none then.

With three comparatively unimportant exceptions, there was not a tax law enacted in any of the thirteen states during 1775 and 1776. In 1775 the New Jersey legislature voted to raise £10,000 by taxation, Massachusetts voted £46,000 the same year, and in 1776 New Hampshire voted £2500, to be paid in 1777.⁸⁶ That was absolutely all, so far as the laws show. During those same two years these three states issued bills of credit and treasury notes to the amount of £1,379,160.

In 1777 eight of the thirteen states enacted tax laws, the heaviest of which were in Massachusetts, calling for £423,736.⁸⁷ Then, in November, 1777, the Continental Congress made its first requisition. According to this plan the states were requested to raise, by taxation, the sum of \$5,000,000. This sum Congress hoped to get in 1778. Each state was assigned its quota of the amount; the smallest share, \$60,000, each, was assigned to Delaware and Georgia, the largest, \$820,000, to Massachusetts.⁸⁸

This requisition definitely turned the states toward taxation, and from this time on laws were passed every year. In the majority of states the practice was to vote the total amount to be raised, and then to assess the proper proportions on the respective towns or counties. This was the method in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Georgia, and, after experiments with other methods, in New York and Pennsylvania. In the other states the laws named the rate for polls, and for each pound or dollar of the property valuation, with no suggestion in the laws themselves of the total amount to be raised.

Without the figures to show the actual returns from these taxes it is hardly worth while to go into the details of the laws. It may be noted in passing, however, that the tax acts of Virginia were the most peculiar of all. In July, 1775, May, 1776, and October, 1776, elaborate tax acts were passed, none of which was to go into effect until 1777. Then, in October, 1777, a new measure was enacted, to go into effect in 1778. This specifically repealed the first three.

⁸⁶ *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 57-58; *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 423-436; June 3, 1775, *Minutes N. J. Prov. Cong.*, pp. 181-183.

⁸⁷ *Laws of N. H.*, IV. 113-114; *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, V. 564-583, 742-758; *R. I. Col. Records*, VIII. 176-177, 294, 330-331; *Conn. State Records*, I. 242, 425; *Pa. Statutes at Large*, IX. 152-156; *N. C. State Records*, XXIV. 6-9, 134-135; *Laws of S. C.*, LV. 1149; *Ga. Digest* (Watkins ed.), p. 207.

⁸⁸ Nov. 22, 1777, *Journ. Cont. Cong.*, IX. 953.

Consequently there was no tax whatever payable in Virginia before 1778. There may possibly have been some collections under the act of 1777, and under two commodity tax acts, of 1777 and 1779, but, if one may judge from the volume of treasury notes turned out, the returns from all were negligible. It would appear that Virginia made no serious effort to secure revenue from taxation until November, 1781, and the new measure adopted then did not go into effect until the following year.⁸⁹

During 1779 and 1780, when the paper money was depreciating rapidly, Congress made urgent appeals to the states for funds, and the states made frantic gestures toward taxation. In January, 1779, the states were asked to pay \$15,000,000 for that year, and \$6,000,000 annually thereafter for eighteen years.⁹⁰ On May 19, 1779, Congress asked for an additional \$45,000,000, to be paid in 1779.⁹¹

The state legislatures promptly went through the motions of response to these requisitions. In the two years of 1779 and 1780 New Hampshire voted taxes aggregating £2,860,000; Massachusetts £17,894,059 in paper, with an additional vote for £72,000 in coin; Rhode Island £2,280,000. In Connecticut the levies for 1780 alone called for a payment of £5 10s 9d for each pound of property valuation! Most of the other states were equally energetic in passing laws, and, so it would appear, equally lax in providing for collection. Although Franklin optimistically declared that these taxes "were readily paid"⁹² there is nothing available to show that the returns from taxation were appreciable anywhere before 1781. After that, with the return to a specie basis, and with the tax acts calling for amounts within reason, the states made themselves familiar with taxation as a source of revenue.

On sober consideration the whole record of Revolutionary finance is extraordinary. At the end of a war lasting more than seven years, Congress, representing the national government, had a total debt of \$42,000,375, in coin.⁹³ To this should be added the state debts incurred on account of the war, which in 1789 amounted to \$21,789,370, the sum actually assumed by the federal government, under Hamilton's plan.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ For these tax acts, Hening, *Statutes*, IX. 65-71, 143-149, 239-225, 349-368, 369-371, 547-552, X. 79-81, 165-172, 189-191, 241-254, 279-286, 347-350, 501-517.

⁹⁰ Jan. 2, 1779, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, XIII. 21.

⁹¹ May 19, 1779, *ibid.*, XI. 614-616.

⁹² B. Franklin, *Works*, IX. 231-234.

⁹³ Apr. 29, 1783, *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, XXIV. 285-286.

⁹⁴ Bullock, *Finances of the United States*, p. 149.

Pitkin, in his *Statistical View*, estimated the total cost of the Revolution, in specie, at \$135,000,000.⁹⁵ If this figure is reasonably accurate, and it is probably as close as any estimate could be, more than half the cost of the war was borne by the people, at the time.

As compared with this, the War of 1812, which lasted only two and one-half years, cost \$200,000,000. Of this total over \$80,000,000 remained as indebtedness, at the end of the war.⁹⁶

To the economist, looking for concrete illustrations of the working of economic laws, and to the financier, whose business is founded on the principle that obligations once assumed must be met in full, the story presents an ugly side. But to an historian of this period, whose moral sensibilities have been dulled by familiarity with the exaggerations and misstatements of certain Revolutionary leaders, this ugliness is not so apparent. Or, to put it more seriously, an historian may see no reason for judging the Revolutionary pronunciamientos by one standard, and Revolutionary finance by another. The whole movement may best be understood by viewing all the related operations: inciting propaganda, statements of the case, and financial expedients, on one and the same ethical plane. Historians certainly are not to be held responsible for the level of that plane; this was forced upon the Revolutionists by the logic of their own situation.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW.

⁹⁵ Pitkin, *Statistical View*, pp. 25-27.

⁹⁶ Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, p. 188.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

I. PERQUISITES OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

THE presidency of the Continental Congress was, before the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, March 1, 1781, merely an office created by the Congress itself upon its first assembling in September, 1774, and renewed upon the second assembling in May, 1775. As was customary in such assemblies, Congress chose one of its members to preside over its deliberations, and such functions as the office in time acquired, other than those which normally appertain to a presiding officer in such an assembly, merely developed in the natural course of events. In other words, as the Congress continued to live, move, and have its being and grow withal, even though it never waxed strong, so the presidency grew and acquired new duties and, in the course of time, some perquisites. The signing of official documents was a matter of course and in accordance with precedent. But in this new assembly, national as we now think of it, international as it was then regarded, the President to an extent came to be looked upon as the spokesman of Congress, in many ways to act for and in behalf of Congress, and particularly to serve as its social and diplomatic representative. From the beginning he was accorded precedence over other members (once at least there was a discussion over what his title ought to be, "whether Excellency or honor"¹); but the days of Congress were already far spent before that body would so far commit itself as to make this rank a matter of record in its journal, and even then only in a qualified manner.²

By virtue of the special position and functions of the President and the extra duties that devolved upon him he was necessarily put to many expenses that did not fall upon other members. Of course a President might, and some of them did, assume expenses in the way of entertainment that were essentially voluntary yet done under much the same sort of pressure as that to which the diplomatic representative of our time is subjected. Such pay as the members of Congress received (and in a good many instances they neither asked for nor received their pay until several years after their terms of service) was derived from their respective states, varied widely with the different states, and the President's pay was just that of any other delegate from his own state.

¹ Diary of John Fell, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, IV. 488.

² June 11, 1783. Cf. the *Journals*, Aug. 5, 1778.

In the Congress of 1774, mainly under the presidency of Peyton Randolph (Henry Middleton presided during the last five days, October 22-26), and during the brief occupancy of the chair by Randolph in May, 1775, the presidency probably involved very little in the way of extraordinary expenses; but after the election of John Hancock (May 24, 1775) the duties and the expenses of the presidency increased, and by the time of Hancock's retirement in the autumn of 1777 had grown to considerable magnitude. Hancock was, however, a man of means, genuinely proud of his distinction as President, and took a real delight in the performance of his duties, in bestowing such glory as he might upon the office, and perhaps in bearing the expenses thereof. In his address to Congress upon taking leave, October 30, 1777, he said: "As to my conduct, both in and out of Congress, in the execution of your business, it is improper for me to say any thing. You are the best judges. But I think I shall be forgiven if I say I have spared no pains, expence, or labour, to gratify your wishes, and to accomplish the views of Congress."

One of the functions which early devolved upon Hancock as President was the conduct of the correspondence of Congress, which soon became voluminous.³ Many, very many of the letters which went forth over the President's signature were written by his own hand; but the task of writing all these letters and recording them in a letter-book was too great for one man; assistance was necessary. For several months Hancock appears to have paid his secretary out of his own pocket and never to have raised the question whether Congress would assume this expense, although Congress might easily have done so, since Congress money in those days cost only the printer's bill and the salaries of the signers.

Whether by Hancock himself or another the matter was, however, brought to the attention of Congress in the beginning of 1776, the result of which was that on January 22 a resolve was passed that the President be allowed to employ a private secretary to be paid by the United Colonies. Then, on July 4 following, it was resolved that the President be empowered to employ another private secretary. This was the extent of the special provision for the extraordinary demands upon the President's purse until October, 1777. Just before taking his departure Hancock appears to have presented an account, amounting to nearly fourteen hundred dollars, for expenditures on behalf of Congress, probably chiefly for messenger service, and this Congress ordered paid (October 25).

The account was probably presented at the time (October 15)⁴

³ See, for instance, a letter of Josiah Bartlett to John Langdon, Oct. 7, 1776, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, II. 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 522, 523.

when Hancock gave notice of his purpose to leave, and doubtless at the same time he brought to the attention of Congress the matter of the President's extraordinary expenses, for which no provision had been made. At all events on that day a committee (Duane, Laurens, and Robert Morris) was appointed "to consider of and report a competent allowance to support the extraordinary expence of the president of Congress in the execution of his office". No report of this committee as such has been found, but on November 19, 1777, upon a report of the committee of the treasury, it was ordered "that there be advanced to the president 1,000 dollars, to pay expresses and other contingent expences, for which he is to be accountable". At this time Henry Laurens was President, having been elected November 1. Laurens, like Hancock, was a man of large means, accustomed to entertain liberally, and, in the early months of his presidency, appears to have accepted cheerfully the resultant expenses, although later the increasing cost of the office wrung even from him groans which he confided to a personal friend. As he afterward stated, he had never expected to be reimbursed and therefore had kept no account of his expenses. Thus the matter stood until the spring of 1778.

In the evening of May 2 of that year came a messenger direct from France, bringing the treaty of alliance, and shortly thereafter Congress learned, through a letter from the board of war of Massachusetts, that a minister from the court of Versailles was coming. "This circumstance", wrote Laurens, "has given a little fillip to Congress. after living eight Months in a stile somewhat below my Overseers in Carolina, we Talk of a Table, a Committee is appointed for the purpose and I am ordered upon it."⁵ The Journals do not record the appointment of a committee on this specific subject, but a committee appointed May 18 on the Massachusetts letter did report that "it will be necessary to the Reception of Ambassadors and other Foreigners of Importance, that the President of the Congress for the Time being should be allowed a House and Table at the Public Expence", and recommended the appointment of a "Master of the Ceremonies", with suitable allowances for these purposes. No action was taken, however, on the report.⁶ Congress had for several months been sitting in the small town of York, Pennsylvania, but was

⁵ Laurens to Rawlins Lowndes, May 17, *ibid.*, III. 247.

⁶ This report, which is undated, is found in the Library of Congress edition of the *Journals* under July 31. It must, however, have been made at an earlier date, probably before Congress returned from York to Philadelphia (the adjournment from York was on June 27). On July 31 a different committee was appointed to superintend the entertainment to be given to Gérard. For an explanation of this matter, in part at least, see *Letters of Members*, III. 249 n.

hoping to be able to return to Philadelphia before the arrival of the French minister, in order that he might be welcomed in a more suitable manner than was possible in York. It was after the return to Philadelphia and three days after Gérard's arrival and unofficial reception that Laurens wrote to John Lewis Gervais (July 15):

"When I tell you that hitherto Congress have only talked of a Table but seem to evade all Measures for covering one, either with an House or Viands, that I am forced every day to entertain Delegates, Strangers and Sometimes Ministers plenipo: you will naturally ask, will Mount Tacitus, Mepkin etc. support the expence? I can assure you their produce must be uncommonly ample if they answer in the affirmative. If my diurnal Account amounted at York Town to near Fifty Dollars, what will be the sum in Philadelphia. I hope not much more. be that as it may, I must bear it until the Celebration of All Saints—the first time I ever wished for the arrival of a Saints day since I left school, then by the Grace of God I mean to break up."⁷

The allusion in the last statement is to the conclusion, November 1, of a year of service in the presidency and to his determination to retire at that time. When the time arrived he was prevailed upon to continue in the chair "for some time longer", but his desire to escape the heavy expenses attached to his office was probably one of the underlying reasons for his resignation a few weeks later.⁸ Thus far Congress had done nothing to relieve the President of his extraordinary expenses and perhaps was slow to do so because the last two presidents, whose combined service covered a period of three and a half years, had been able and willing, if not content, to carry the burden themselves. But the supply of such material for the presidency was now pretty well exhausted. Evidently John Jay, who succeeded Laurens on December 10, was not the man to shoulder these burdens and no doubt said so. At all events, the very next day after his election a committee was appointed "to report a proper allowance for the honorable gentlemen who have been or may be elected presidents of Congress, to defray the expences incidental to the office". The committee made a report the next day, and on December 16 the report was taken into consideration, with the result that the representatives of past presidents were requested to lay before Congress accounts of their expenditures in support of their households while exercising the office of President, in order that those accounts might be adjusted and paid out of the public treasury. In addition it was resolved "that a convenient furnished dwelling house be hired, and a table, carriage and servants provided, at the public expence, for the President of Congress for the time being"; and further, "That the

⁷ *Letters of Members*, III. 333.

⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 473, 524-528.

Committee of the Treasury appoint and agree with a steward, who shall have the superintendence of the household of the President, and of the necessary expenditures, and be accountable for such monies as shall, from time to time, be advanced for the purpose aforesaid". Thus two years and two months after Hancock had gently prodded Congress concerning the matter, provision was at last made for the presidential household.

Laurens, who was still in Congress, was called upon by the board of treasury for his account, but, as has already been stated, he replied that, not having expected any reimbursement, he had kept no account, and besought Congress that "they would be pleased to accept my services of that kind as a very small return for their friendship". Congress did not, however, accede to his request, and Laurens furnished the treasury department with a rough statement of account, indicating an amount that would be satisfactory to him. "The whole amount", he remarked, "may be suitable enough to the vicious fashion of the day, but with shame I confess it to be altogether anti-republican and inconsistent with the circumstances of the distressed States of America. . . . had I known I had been living at public expence my conduct should have been governed by different rules and principles."⁹

For some reason it was not until long afterward that Hancock was called upon to submit his account. This he did in May, 1782, but it was not until March 31, 1783, that the account was adjusted, having in the meantime been threshed over by three different committees. Hancock, like Laurens, had kept no account of his expenses as President and declared that he would be entirely satisfied with whatever allowance Congress might be pleased to make him, merely suggesting that he should be placed upon the same footing as his predecessors and successors. The mode adopted was to figure the appropriation to Laurens on an annual basis and make the same annual allowance to Hancock for the time he was President. No accounts appear ever to have been rendered on behalf of Peyton Randolph or Henry Middleton.

Under the provision of December 16, 1778, the presidential household seems to have run smoothly and satisfactorily for nearly three years, Congress paying the house rent, the salary of the steward, and making regular appropriations (practically monthly) for the Presi-

⁹ Letter to John Gibson, auditor general, Jan. 21, 1779, *ibid.*, IV. 38. The depreciated paper which eventually (nearly a year later) he received in payment of his account, amounting in hard money to less than \$800, would have been only small pocket change for Laurens in the early days of his presidency. For an account of this matter see Wallace, *Life of Laurens*, pp. 317-318.

dent's table and other household expenses.¹⁰ Samuel Huntington, who succeeded Jay on September 28, 1779, seems in the beginning to have been content with the provision made by Congress for the support of his household as President. For instance, writing to the treasurer of Connecticut, January 18, 1780, to solicit a part of the pay due him as a delegate, he remarked: "In my present situation Connecticut is at no expence for my Support, as they are for their other Delegates,¹¹ and it is out of Character for me to ask for any monies out of the Continental Treasury." But he added: "Decency and a regard for the Honour of the State I represent, Obliges me to more Expence than in any Other Situation would be necessary or desirable by me; as I am obliged to receive the Company of all Foreigners of Distinction Especially the Foreign Minister and must appear decent in dress etc which is at this time very dear."¹²

As expenses of the latter sort grew with the depreciation of the currency, Huntington must presently have found the presidency financially burdensome in spite of the public support of his household, for he wrote to Governor Trumbull on September 4, "The period that confines me to my present painful situation is almost expired".¹³ On December 1, having been prevailed upon to continue in the chair, he wrote again to the treasurer of his state for money, adding: "Be assured, Sir, I should not make this request if I could with decency or comfort subsist without the money. . . . I have never yet receiv'd for my services a sum equal to pay my necessary expences while attending in Congress."¹⁴

¹⁰ During 1779 the expenses of the President's household were about \$5000 a month (exclusive of rent and salaries), but by Mar., 1780, they were running at about double that amount. In April the appropriations rose from \$5000 to \$8000, and that sometimes twice a month, then to \$12,000, then to \$15,000, and by the end of the year it was requiring even a larger sum. During the year 1780 the appropriations for this purpose (beginning Jan. 11 with \$5000 and ending Dec. 14 with \$15,000) were \$147,000. Between Nov. 1, 1780, and Feb. 6, 1781, the appropriations amount to \$65,000. Of course a large part of this increase is due to depreciation of the currency. The steward during most of Jay's presidency was William Young, during that of Huntington, Richard Phillips, and the appropriations to July, 1781, will be found in the *Journals* under their names.

¹¹ The usual practice of the states, in the payment of their delegates, was to fix a definite *per diem* allowance for their services and pay all expenses, although what might be included in an expense account varied a good deal in the different states. It was also the usual practice in this period for delegates to secure the money to pay their salaries and expenses by obtaining from Congress an order on the treasury, to be charged to their states, respectively. Hence Huntington's remark about asking for monies out of the Continental treasury.

¹² *Letters of Members*, vol. V. (forthcoming).

¹³ Alluding to his expectation to retire from the presidency at the end of a year of service (*Letters of Members*, vol. V.; Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 7th ser., III. 127).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Soon Congress itself was worrying over the high cost of the presidency. On March 10, 1781, when another fifteen thousand was called for, Congress balked and passed a resolution requiring the steward to present to the board of treasury or superintendent of finance once every quarter an estimate of the President's household expenses and that one or other of those authorities should approve the estimate before a warrant should be issued.

Finally, November 21, 1781, Congress resolved upon a reform, which made for the independence and dignity of the President, whether or not it made for efficiency and economy in the management of his household. Heretofore it was the board of treasury that appointed the steward, and it was the board of treasury that applied for the appropriations. That board essentially ruled the President's roast. By the new method the President himself was to appoint the steward and other attendants of his household and might remove them at pleasure. The President also should draw for all necessary sums of money required, although the steward was required to keep a regular account.

This was the act under which the President's household was thereafter conducted, but it remains to speak of one or two flurries in Congress over the matter of cost. On May 9, 1783, there was a motion by Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, seconded by Samuel Holten of Massachusetts, to limit the sums to be drawn for the support of the President's household, and a report upon the motion was brought in on May 30,¹⁵ but, if the motion and report did not then and there die, they were left lying in a comatose state for a full year. In May, 1784, this was one of the items in the agenda laid out for the Committee of the States, but that committee blew up without ever touching the question.

The next that is heard of the matter is November 23, 1785, when John Kean of South Carolina made a motion, similar to that of Williamson, in May, 1783, to limit the expenditure for the President's household to twelve thousand dollars a year, "including the salary of his private secretary, house rent, Steward and servants wages, and all other expences whatever".¹⁶ On the presentation of

¹⁵ The committee consisted of John Rutledge of South Carolina, Arthur Lee of Virginia, and Stephen Higginson of Massachusetts. On May 26 Abraham Clark of New Jersey was assigned to the committee in the place of Lee. The motion was probably an outcome of the general disposition of Congress at the time to reduce expenditures. On the day on which this report was made Ralph Izard spoke of Congress as "without money and without credit", *Letters of Members*, vol. V.; *S. C. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, XXVII. 78.

¹⁶ There are two drafts of Kean's motion (*Papers Cont. Cong.*, no. 40, vol. II, ff. 119, 121), varying in terms. In the first the salary of the private secretary only is included, and the amount is set at twelve thousand; in the second house

this motion in Congress Kean made a further motion that the board of treasury report the expense of the President's household for the years 1783, 1784, and 1785, and this motion was referred to the board of treasury to take order.¹⁷ November 25 the board made its report, presenting a statement of the register of the treasury showing the total expenditure for the purpose, not including the salary of the President's private secretary, from November 6, 1782, to October 30, 1785, to have been something over thirty thousand dollars.¹⁸

Once more the Journals fail to record the disposition of the matter at that time, but the Committee Book shows that on December 28, 1785, a report was delivered and on the same day was transferred (that is, to some other committee), and finally, by a notation subsequently added, "President's household settled by act 23 March 1787".¹⁹ Turning then to the Journals of that date we find Kean's motion, with the limit set, however, at eight thousand dollars instead of twelve, and with some other small modifications of language. Thus nearly four years from the time the proposition was made for limiting the President's household allowance, more than seven years after Congress first showed signs of being disturbed over those expenditures, the question was, in a manner, settled. If Congress was further worried over the high cost of its presidency, those worries do not appear to have found utterance. By this time indeed Congress was tottering to its downfall and had, not its head alone, but its whole body to worry about.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

2. THE GERMAN DECLARATION OF WAR ON FRANCE: THE QUESTION OF TELEGRAM MUTILATIONS

PREMIER POINCARÉ VERSUS AMBASSADOR VON SCHOEN

ONE of the problems related to the outbreak of the World War which is still warmly debated and as yet unsettled is that connected with the telegrams sent by the German government to the German rent, etc., is added, and the amount is left blank. See the *Journals* for 1784, p. 400. The second is probably the motion actually submitted, for on it Thomson has endorsed: "Motion of Mr. Kean on the expenditure for prest. Household Novr. 30, 1785 Referred to Mr. Symmes, Mr. Laurance, Mr. Johnson."

¹⁷ Resolve Book, no. 123.

¹⁸ Papers Cont. Cong., no. 140, vol. II., ff. 111, 115. In comparing the figures here and in all these later years with those of 1779 and 1780 it is of course to be borne in mind that the standard now is hard money, not that of depreciated and depreciating paper currency.

¹⁹ Committee Book, no. 189, pp. 7, 31.

ambassador in Paris directing the latter to hand a declaration of war to the French government. Baron von Schoen has always contended that portions of these telegrams were mutilated so that he could not determine their contents before he left Paris. The French have denied this and have maintained that there was no mutilation of these telegrams. In his *Memoirs* (English edition, II. 287) M. Poincaré has, within the last year, repeated his charge against Baron von Schoen under the heading: "Another German Fable." We reproduce this section in full:

Whatever falsehoods besides occurred in the Note which Baron Schoen handed to Viviani, others lurked in the text sent from Berlin. The German Government had notified their Ambassador, not only as to the alleged flights, but of military raids on terra firma through Montreux-Vieux and by a path through the Vosges, and at the very moment when the telegram was being penned to Schoen, Herr Jagow seriously affirmed that French troops were still on German soil. Why on earth did not the Ambassador [Schoen] make use of this information in his letter? Did he suspect its fantastic character? He has explained in his *Memoirs* that the telegram was so illegible that it could not be entirely deciphered, and this explanation has given rise to many suppositions. M. Aulard has gone closely into the question of the telegram being undecipherable, and says the thing is highly improbable; anyhow, at the time the Quai d'Orsay had no key to the German cipher, which was only found and applied to the Schoen telegram much later in the war. It was therefore quite impossible for our people at the Foreign Office to read a telegram before sending it on. Since the war, a German Commission has gone all through the archives of the General Staff, and nothing so far has turned up to give the slightest indication of any concerted French reconnaissance in Alsace—even on the 3rd of August—or of any action which can be compared with the German cavalry raids through Belfort and Lorraine.

In order to get further light on this subject I called the attention of Baron von Schoen to Poincaré's statement and asked him to furnish me with a full statement of his version of the case. Baron von Schoen sent me a reply on November 16, 1928. This, in full, is as follows:

As is well known, the German declaration of war on France on August 3, 1914, did not read as it should have read, because the cipher-code telegram, containing the order to the German ambassador in Paris, arrived garbled to such an extent that only portions were readable. Because of this unfortunate circumstance, the explanation forwarded by the ambassador to the French government could only be based on the French air-attacks, but not on the much more significant war-manoeuvres of the French troops. Soon, from the German side, an explanation of this affair and the correct wording of the distorted telegram was officially made known. Also, as soon as the truth was established, it was admitted that the reports of air-attacks were attributable to errors. In spite of that, the French statesmen, during the war and long afterward, stubbornly hurled the reproach at Germany that it had attacked France treacher-

ously, under false pretenses. Not until several years after the conclusion of peace, when Ambassador Baron von Schoen publicly appealed to the sense of honor of the former President, Poincaré, did the latter moderate his accusations and admit that, in regard to the German assertion of air-attacks, a mistake, not a conscious falsehood, may have been involved. He started on another wrong track, however, with the assertion of doubt whether there really had been despatch-mutilations, and hinted that these might have been put up as a defense by the German ambassador. In the fourth volume of his *Memoirs*,¹ he touches upon the matter again and refers to an article by the French historian Aulard, in the *Revue de Paris* of May 1, 1922, in which this scholar endeavors to prove this despatch-mutilation a poorly founded myth, or even Schoen's own work. But Mr. Poincaré overlooks the fact completely that Baron Schoen in the German magazine, *Die Nation*, of July, 1922, had curtly denied these scurrilous assumptions and inferences and had characterized them as proofs not only of short-sighted, but of malicious, prejudice.

How Mr. Poincaré, who also allows himself to be led here and there into an explanation of the happenings which differs from that given by Schoen in his *Memoirs*, can make these contradictions agree with his oft-expressed recognition of the unimpeachable integrity of the former German ambassador, is a puzzle, just as it is an unsolved question how and where the mysterious despatch-mutilation originated. An unfortunate circumstance? Disturbances of relations? It may be. But set over against this hypothesis there is a very remarkable circumstance, namely, the fact that not only one Berlin despatch concerning the declaration of war of August 3, 1914, was mutilated, and therefore came into the hands of the ambassador only partly readable, but rather two of them: (1) the one sent in the morning from Berlin and signed by State-Secretary von Jagow; and (2) the other sent in the afternoon, personally signed by the Imperial Chancellor.² Moreover, a strange coincidence: in both telegrams the very same portions of the text, namely, those that concerned the frontier violation by the French troops, were made unreadable by the transposition of the code-ciphers, and in fact by unmistakably systematic falsification. Moreover, it is striking that the two German telegrams were over five hours on the way, but a telegram of the French ambassador in Berlin, sent almost at the same time as the second one, was only three hours on the way. And this telegram was not garbled.

One more point! Professor Aulard mentions in regard to the first German telegram, that of Jagow, that a rectifying repetition requested by Schoen had arrived in Paris long after the departure of the ambassador, and that this repetition had shown no falsification whatsoever. This allows us to conclude that in Paris, outside of the German Embassy, they were in a position to decipher this telegram and compare it with the original. Mr. Poincaré, on the other hand, assures us that the French office at that time was not in possession of the key to the German cipher-code—again a riddle!

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

¹ *L'Union Sacrée*, p. 525 (English edition, II. 287).

² *German Documents*, nos. 716, 734.

DOCUMENTS

*China After the Victory of Taku, June 25, 1859*¹

No period in Chinese diplomatic history is so obscure as that of the war with England and France during the three years of 1858, 1859, and 1860. Mr. Tyler Dennett, more frank than most writers on China's foreign relations, admits that "... not only are nearly all the facts a matter of dispute, but equally so is the interpretation of such facts as can be established".² The principal reason for this state of affairs is the lack of Chinese source materials. In the notes on bibliography at the end of his book, Mr. Dennett points out, "the publication of Chinese source materials on the history of China's foreign relations would doubtless work havoc in all existing histories".³

I have been fortunate in getting access to a large collection of documents covering the years from 1836 to 1904—from the Opium War to the Russo-Japanese War—owned by my friend, Mr. Wang Hsi-yun of Peking. He plans to publish the collection and has asked me to aid him in the editorial work. In going through the documents, I discovered three of the greatest interest, throwing much light on (1) China's attitude to Mr. John E. Ward, the American minister to China, and to America's participation in the fight at Taku

¹ For an account of the events to which the documents refer, see Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, especially chapter 17. Here it is enough to recall that in June, 1858, treaties had been signed at Tientsin by Chinese commissioners with the United States as well as with Great Britain and France. The ratifications of the French and British treaties were to be exchanged at Peking within a year, and John E. Ward, the new American minister, insisted that ratifications of the American treaty should take place there also. To this the Chinese seem to have agreed and they made preparations to receive the diplomats in Peking. The conflict arose out of the British determination to proceed to Tientsin with a squadron up the Pei-ho past the Taku forts. The Chinese proposed to receive the deputations at Pei-t'ang, ten miles farther north. In attempting to force the entrance of the Pei-ho the British lost three ships and their landing party was repulsed. In this connection took place the incident of "Blood is thicker than water", which gave Commodore Tattnall imperishable fame. For the Ward reports, see *Senate Executive Documents*, 36 cong., 1st sess., no. 30, pp. 569 ff. S. Wells Williams, American secretary of legation, also gives an account in his diary, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch*, XLII. (1911) 102 ff. The conflict was discussed in the House of Commons, see *Hansard*, CLVI. 919-952; CLVII. 781 ff.

² *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York, 1922), p. 335.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 693-694.

on June 25, 1859, and (2) China's diplomatic plans in regard to the future. The first document is a Memorial to the Throne by Sengkolintsin, the commander-in-chief at Taku; the other two are Imperial Rescripts covering the points raised by the memorial. I have translated them quite literally, not omitting such offensive terms as "American barbarians" and "the American barbarian chieftain", referring to Mr. Ward.

A word about the origin of the collection of documents may be of interest to Western scholars. Before the reign of Kuang-hsü (1875-1908), there was an office in Peking, called the Barbarian Affairs Bureau. In spite of this strange name, its function was simply that of compiling the documents relating to China's foreign relations. It made a collection which it named "The Beginning and End of Barbarian Affairs", covering the period 1836-1874. Two copies of the work were made, either for use in the palace or for publication. One of the two came into the hands of the father of Mr. Wang, who was for twenty years chief of the secretariat of the privy council. He immediately realized its value and decided to continue it by his own efforts. For this purpose, he copied every document going through his office, relating to foreign affairs, till the end of his life in 1905. As it stands, the part he added is even bigger than the original "Beginning and End of Barbarian Affairs". In view of the scattering and destruction of Chinese documents through foreign invading armies in Peking and also through negligence, it is almost providential that many of the documents should have been preserved in this way. The collection will be published privately by my friend in the course of the next three years. Probably more than one hundred volumes will be required to include all the important documents.

T. F. TSIANG.

I. MEMORIAL OF IMPERIAL COMMISSIONER, SENGKOLINTSIN, PRINCE OF KORSIN, PRESENTED TO THE EMPEROR, THE NINTH YEAR OF HSIEN-FENG, SIXTH MOON, FIFTEENTH DAY

(July 14, 1859)

I, your slave, in a former memorial have already reported the conditions under which the barbarian ships sailed beyond the Taku Bar. We have been mutually on guard against each other for more than ten days, but there has been no movement. According to what the American barbarian chieftain [Minister Ward] said at his interview with the Viceroy, Heng-fu, the Envoys of England and France have already returned to Shanghai on the sixth or seventh of this month. I continuously observed the barbarian ships beyond the Bar; they all seemed to be anchored there. But since the tenth day, they left in succession, until

the tenth hour in the morning of the twelfth the whole number had disappeared. Only the two steamboats, one big and one small, belonging to the Americans are still anchored near Pei-t'ang.

From the recent circumstances, the outer barbarians must realize to some extent their unreasonableness, and hence are undecided whether to advance or retreat. Whether they will for the time being return to their own countries and plan a second attack or sail to some other place [near China] to create trouble is quite unknown. Originally, this time, they came under the pretense of peace, hoping to deceive us and in the mean time to carry out their secret plot. If they came really for the exchange of ratifications, what would have been the use of more than twenty warships, one hundred and more guns, and several thousand soldiers? That they had the definite purpose of using force to make demands on us is clear. Their defeat on the 25th [June] has made them full of revenge. They will collect more warships to make a counter-attack. If China's military forces can inflict one or two more defeats on them, the pride and vainglory of the barbarians, already under severe trial, will immediately disappear. China will then enjoy some decades of peace. At the same time, there is the probability that the barbarians, already somewhat disillusioned and repentant, may lend themselves to persuasion and be brought under control. If they of their own accord should wholeheartedly become obedient, then peace would be secure and permanent. Your slave, observing the situation of the English and French, feels that we ought slowly to plan for their return to obtain peace, but we ought not to be in too much of a hurry. This is the actual condition of things.

As to the American barbarian's entering the capital for exchange of ratifications, I have already received Your Majesty's Decree of the 12th day of the 6th moon of the 9th year of Hsien-feng [July 11, 1859]. Your Majesty's plans cover all possibilities. I shall respectfully and carefully act as directed. But the population of Tientsin is dense and heterogeneous. Last year when the barbarian ships anchored outside of the city, there was some trouble. This time when the barbarian ambassador passes through, the inhabitants because of the recent war may verbally offer some offense, which may be inconvenient. We ought to make him travel some distance outside of Tientsin and then get on the boat. This appears to be the safer course.

Since the three barbarian countries combined for the intrigue, it is impossible that two of them should withdraw in defeat and allow America alone to proceed with the exchange of ratifications. There must be some design. When the American barbarian came for the interview, he denied that he had fought against us. Not only this, but in his note to us, the dates⁴ and names contain many ambiguities. It must be that he, after consultation and agreement with the English and French, is to stay in Tientsin to keep diplomatic contact. When our delegates, Tsao Ta-shiu and Potohengwu, went to the American barbarian's ship for an interview, the barbarian assistant envoy, Williams, even refused to receive back the American prisoner of war whom we captured on the 25th. He said that citizens and soldiers of the three countries sometimes changed their nationality, and that America had many people from England and France. In time of war, the flag is the determining factor. He also said that from Pei-t'ang to Peking he would provide his own sedan chair

⁴ This refers to the fact that the note from Mr. Ward to the Chinese authorities, although delivered after the fight on June 25, was given an earlier date.

but that the carriers should be provided by the local officials. He has more than one hundred piéces of baggage, requiring one hundred and more carriers. He refuses to go in a carriage. The barbarian talked only about entering the capital for exchange of ratifications; he denied that he had been involved in the war. This is, of course, to prepare the ground for acting as mediator for the English and the French.

According to the words of Huang Hua-lien, a man from Kwantung, who stayed over last year in Tientsin, it is an old established practice with the foreign barbarians that after a war between two countries, the country seeking peace must pay an indemnity to the country consenting to it. Previously when the barbarians preferred demands on us, they invariably included an indemnity. This is a proof of Huang's statement. If the barbarians after their defeat ask us for peace, they will be afraid of our demanding an indemnity from them. On the other hand, if we should ask them for peace, they would undoubtedly demand compensation from us, on the excuse of ships and guns lost. We must forestall any such eventuality. Therefore at the interview of the 9th, your slave ordered my aides to request the American chieftain to transmit to the English barbarians our demand for an indemnity. This was only to estop them from demanding any from us. The chance of peace with the two countries of England and France lies, of course, with the American chieftain, but we must wait till he expresses the desire to mediate and makes clear pronouncements so that there will be no possible future trouble. Only thus will our procedure be faultless. That we should carefully manage things and not easily accept compromises is another conclusion which your slave has formed after observation of the situation of the three countries.

The letter which the American barbarian wishes to transmit to the Russian barbarian,⁵ I ought, of course, to forward, in accordance with the Decree. But I remember that the trouble of last year with the English and French was really precipitated by the promptings of the Russian barbarian. If he is allowed to correspond with the American barbarian, it is to be feared that the two countries will be tempted to create more trouble. It seems safer to prevent this correspondence. The letter is still in the hands of the Viceroy, Heng-fu. Let the barbarian deliver it himself when he enters Peking. This is the ignorant opinion of your slave. Whether it is correct, I humbly wait for Instructions.

As to the three sunken ships of the English barbarians, the hulls are broken. In them are several hundreds of brass wheels, big and small. The quality of the brass is excellent, no damage being done. Of the guns, we have successively salvaged twelve pieces, big and small. . . . [Description of guns]. . . . At present, with the barbarians' guns in our hands, we have a sufficient supply for use. When the eight big guns despatched from the Metropolitan Banners and the thousand government troops from Kwei-hua and Sui-yuan arrive, I shall distribute them among the camps of the two ports for use as reserves.

2. IMPERIAL RESCRIPT TO THE PRIVY COUNCILLORS

Sengkolintsin has reported in a memorial the departure of all English and French ships and the proposed plans for escorting the American barbarian to the capital. The barbarian ships of England and France

⁵ Ignatiev, the Russian minister in Peking.

began leaving on the 10th; by the 12th all had left. Whether these barbarians have gone to Shanghai or Kwantung to collect more soldiers and ships for revenge, is unknown. It is further to be feared that they may harbor secret designs and hide themselves around nearby islands, waiting for the arrival of more soldiers and ships for a surprise attack in the night or during a storm. The defense should be all the more vigilant in view of this possibility. Let Sengkolintsin command his men to be more alert in guard duty and devise ways of securing intelligence about the barbarian ships. Let there be no negligence.

The American chieftain can on no account be allowed to ride in a sedan chair in the capital. But after landing at Pei-t'ang, he can well be allowed to sit in a sedan chair for the land journey to a point beyond Tientsin, at which he should change to a boat. As soon as he reaches Tungchow, let him sit in a carriage or a mule chair, but not in a sedan chair. Let Heng-fu and Wen-yu explain this clearly to the chieftain beforehand, in order to avoid possible last minute wrangling.

The great minister (Sengkolintsin) was afraid that by forwarding the letter of the American barbarian to the Russian barbarian the two might mutually lead each other to plots. This anxiety is well founded. But eventually this letter must be delivered to the Russian barbarian. If it should go through the hands of our officials, we can all the better prevent the evil of private communication between them. Let Heng-fu immediately send it to the Privy Council and advise the Council to forward to the Li Fan Yuan (Ministry of Dependencies) for transmission to the Russian barbarian. This is much safer than letting the American deliver it himself.

3. A SECOND IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

Some time ago, after the defeat of the English barbarians, because their ships in the waters beyond Tientsin were not numerous, it was thought that they must have gone to Shanghai or Kwantung to get more warships for revenge. We then commanded Ho Kwei-tsin to send agents to Shanghai to investigate and secretly to increase defenses. We also commanded the Chinese and barbarian merchants in Shanghai to use their persuasion to bring about a cessation of war and a pacification of affairs. It was suggested that possibly the French barbarians might be attracted first and that this would separate the allies. Although We have not received any Memorial-in-reply from Ho Kwei-tsin, We suppose he has already acted according to Our Decree. Now, according to the Memorial of Sengkolintsin, at the interview between the American barbarian and Heng-fu, it was said that the ambassadors of England and France had gone to Shanghai on the 6th or 7th, and that, looking beyond the Bar from the distance, the barbarian ships began to leave on the 10th and all had left by the 12th. This time, the English barbarians, violating treaty and trusting in force, opened hostilities. After defeat by Our army, they ought to realize their unreasonableness. Whether they have returned to England to prepare a counter-attack or have sailed to other places to create more trouble is unknown. Commerce is now going on at Shanghai. Those barbarians have stored not inconsiderable quantities of goods there. They must certainly know how to save them. Furthermore, the merchants are mediating. There ought therefore to be no trouble in Shanghai. But the prefectures of Soochow and Sungkiang are important for their revenue. The mouth of Woosung leads to Soo-

chow and the mouth of Huangpu leads to Sungkiang. These two points must be carefully guarded. Let Ho Kwei-tsin secretly send reliable agents to spy and to act as occasion requires. We have heard that in the times of Taok-wang, old grain boats loaded with stone were sunk, to bar the Big River and the inland rivers, so as to strengthen the first line of defense of Soochow and Sungkiang. Because of this, barbarian ships did not go inland. We think similar dispositions can be made so as to be prepared for all eventualities. As to the city of Chingkiang, it is situated on the bank of Yangtse, without any strategic point of defense. But there are marine forces stationed in the regions around Chinsan. Let Ho Chuan command his land and marine forces to take good care of the defenses. Only, we must not open fire first; otherwise the barbarians will get the desired excuse. If they should begin hostilities, we ought, of course, to threaten them with military power sufficient to meet their attack. As to the whole question of pacification, the key to the situation is now at Shanghai, not Tientsin. Ho Kwei-tsin, being Imperial Commissioner for Barbarian Affairs, if the two chieftains are really in Shanghai, ought to devise means to influence them, so as to prevent war and complete pacification. This is what is hoped of him.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Our Changing Civilization: how Science and the Machine are Reconstructing Modern Life. By JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University. (New York: F. A. Stokes Company. 1929. Pp. x, 362. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is an astonishing verification of the suspicion harbored hitherto by a few historical writers that the history of human thought and belief would yield deeper insight into men's ways than any other single method of approach. For back of the strategy of inventors lies the accumulation of knowledge of a certain type and the displacement and extinction of older ways of thinking. Compare, for instance, the pitiful fund of information upon which Watt operated with the wealth of scientific knowledge at the disposal of Edison—between the teetering teapot lid and the dynamo. The modern city, furnishing the novel environment for an ever increasing proportion of mankind, derives from the inventor, and the inventors from the gatherers of knowledge. Accordingly the volume in hand reaches its culmination in three chapters dealing respectively with City, Laboratory, and Faith; City, Laboratory, and Art; City, Laboratory, and Moral Life. The final chapter is on the Conflict of Civilizations. In this the various reactions to the new on the part of those clinging to obsolescent forms of human organization and ideals befitting them are briefly but pertinently reviewed.

The main part of the book in bulk contains a most ingenious and absolutely essential historical review of the conditions from which our present form of civilization has emerged. The classification of material under the author's headings will perhaps best impart the scope of his enterprise: (1) *Our Changing Civilization*, which serves as an introduction; (2) *Human Nature, Folkways, and Folklore*; (3) *Where our Civilization Came From*; (4) *the Old Civilization and its Formation*; (5) *How Civilizations Change*; (6) *the Coming of Business and Science to the Old Society*; (7) *the First Attempt at Adjustment and its Fruits*; (8) *the Coming of the Machine*; (9) *the Advance of Science*. These chapters fill over two-thirds of the book. They do not form a perfunctory introduction to the main conclusions but are vividly part and parcel of them. Mr. Randall never loses himself and properly assumes that under his confident leadership his readers will easily follow him. He furnishes no references in foot-notes or otherwise, no bibliography or index. Any one somewhat versed in the history of thought will accept the reliability of his information.

He has, to use his own excellent phrase, escaped the "tyranny of emancipation". He has no inclination to mock either past or present. He now and then, it is true, discovers some pleasant humor in the childish reinterpretations of the old, as, for example, he says: "See what has happened to the Man Nobody Knows and the Book Nobody Knows, at the hands of the advertising man everybody knows. Jesus now steps forth as the first publicity man, who put across the best paying proposition in the history of insurance. The Last Supper turns out to have been the first Rotary Club luncheon." Mr. Randall is far too sophisticated to be intolerant. He was fifteen years old when the World War began and has had none of those struggles in unlearning which some of us have had to face. I seem to remember that St. Louis not only presented his friends with haircloth shirts, but, on his fatal visit to Tunis, kissed the lepers' sores. It might have been better to have used para-toluene-sodium-sulpho-chloramide but that was impossible and Mr. Randall does not, like many writers, feel inclined to call St. Louis a fool.

The upshot of his book is that the poverty of old "has saddled us with a needless idealization of the renunciation that was once inevitable". The problem which faces us is of course a reconstruction of so-called moral values. We are rich; indefinite possibilities open up before us. "Where is the wisdom and the intelligence to use the power of science and the machine aright? In our whole moral tradition there is no answer. In all its profound plumbing of the human spirit, Christianity never faced that question. Of what avail is it to tell us to renounce the world, or to abstain from pleasure? We need an ethics of achievement and mastery; we have only an ethics of consolation." If wisdom is to grow in time we must surrender confidence in the reinforcement of moral schemes based on a chronic deficit. We must, too, seek knowledge and intelligence upon which future wisdom can be based.

Mr. Randall to use his own words is among "the first native-born citizens of the new world of science". So it comes about that such as he "can find a faith in something within the world science describes just because they accept science itself without a forced act of faith. Neither rejecting nor deifying, they can criticise and select, build and reconstruct, secure that in thus criticising and building they are at home in their world".

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

A Panorama of the World's Legal Systems. By JOHN HENRY WIGMORE. Three volumes. (Saint Paul: West Publishing Company. 1928. Pp. xxxi, 1206. \$25.00.)

DEAN WIGMORE's interest in comparative law was stimulated by his early experience in Japan, where he found the system of law that he describes so interestingly in the volume under review being pushed out of use by the invasion of Western legal systems. His fruitful interest in foreign law, and in the history of law and legal institutions, has been

evidenced through the many years of his service as a law teacher, but nowhere more effectively than in the collections of foreign legal writing, of which he has been editor, and to the success of which his fertile mind has largely contributed. It is then from experience with other law systems than our own, as well as from a wide reading, that Dean Wigmore has prepared the *Panorama of the World's Legal Systems*, "not to establish specific facts for the scientific world, but to present in perspective for the legal profession [and the general public] a true impressionistic whole" (p. xiv).

To accomplish his end the author has made use not only of the text but of a new method. Believing "that the dry history of law could be enlivened with pictures" the author has illustrated each of the 16 principal legal systems by pictures showing the edifices in which law and justice were dispensed, the principal men of law, and the chief types of legal records. He has ransacked museums, art galleries, and libraries for his illustrations, which include facsimiles of "the oldest court record, the oldest will, the oldest treaty, the oldest codes, extant in the world" (p. xii). Among the most interesting of the illustrations to the members of the legal profession will be the pictures of law-givers, from the portrait statue of Harmhab, Legislator-King of Egypt, to the photographs of modern jurists, including interesting colored reprints of a Chinese picture of Confucius and the Japanese Shotoku Taishi, the first Legislator-Prince of Japan. Lawyers will like to look at the statue of St. Ives, "the poor man's lawyer" (p. 959), who the author says "is reputed to be the only lawyer who was ever made a saint" (p. 960). The Apostle Paul, however, the reviewer suggests, sat at the feet of Gamaliel, "a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people", and seems to have profited by his lessons, by whom he was "taught according to the perfect manner of the law".

The historian may be more interested in the representation of Maat, the Egyptian goddess of justice, who, quite unlike the divinities which crown our court houses, has her eye, and a strikingly large, piercing eye it is, wide open to the happenings of the world. Devotees of sociological jurisprudence should adopt this handsome Egyptian as their patron.

The author has not depended alone on illustrations in drawing and color to liven his panorama. No less striking is the interesting collection of documents which drive in upon the reader the fact that the ancient judge and law-giver was dealing with people who bought and sold, sometimes with only reasonable scruples, who married and gave in marriage, and who were guilty of injuries to their neighbors, for which some recompense was sought. Of greater interest than pages of discussion of the way non-statute law is made and the way it lasts is the citation from a medieval Mohammedan doctor describing a trust and stating the law (pp. 563-564), and the modern judgment interpreting a trust deed on the basis of the rules laid down by lawyers in the 1100's and the 1300's (p. 566). In the same way the author deals with the administration of the law by illustrations of the law-courts of the different systems through-

out the ages, and with quotations from manuscripts or the witnesses of courts in action. Notable is the Homeric citation describing an archaic trial as depicted on Achilles's shield (p. 288) and the story from the Saga of Burnt Njal of the great Icelandic high court, the Al-ting which gathered on the Hill of Laws to render judgment to the folk, according to the law (p. 820). In quite another vein is the description of civil and criminal procedure in the Russia of the 1500's, where the primitive methods of drawing lots and the duel still obtained (pp. 780-785).

The author's own interesting description of ancient Japan's legal system is excellently pointed by documents in a conciliation case, and in a matter brought before the exchequer judge in the supreme court of the Shogun at Yedo (pp. 494-503).

The author describes not only the various racial systems: Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hebrew, Chinese, Hindu, Greek, Roman, Japanese, Celtic, Slavic, and Germanic; he deals also with world-wide systems. The Mohammedan system of theocratic law developed by learned doctors, but immune to legislation until recently, deserves to be called a world-system since the spread of Islam over so large a part of the world. The "Romanesque system" which, originating in the rebirth of the Roman law in the great law schools of Bologna, has swept the Western world, and, in its most developed system of the modern European codes, is pushing out even the religious law of Islam, as it has unseated the ancient customary laws of Japan and of China. The reviewer thinks that the author might have given a little more credit to the influences of the customary French law on the French code, particularly in respect to the condition of persons, and might have borne a little more on the great effect of the Romanesque law in many parts of the common law of England, notably in its formative period, and particularly in such branches as the law of obligations.

In addition to the racial systems and the world-systems the author reviews the one great system devoted to a single branch of human affairs, the Maritime Legal System, "the common law of the sea", which became less "common law" as the national sovereignties developed and expressed their commands, as in the legislation of the Hansa Towns and the famous French "Ordonnance de la Marine", but which is today, through the increasing recognition of the commercial unity of the world, becoming again internationalized. An equally interesting story is that of the rise of the Canon Legal System and its modification, again under the stress of the rise in national sovereignty, from being the civil law governing many of the transactions of common life in all Europe, to a law of the church, but having exercised an enormous influence on the formation of all European legal systems.

The author closes with a plea for a more intensive study of comparative law, for which the materials are now becoming available. The reviewer entirely agrees with Dean Wigmore's conclusion that the evolution of single rules "cannot be fully understood without first conceiving the whole system in its political environment and its chronology". The

historian may add that this is a task for which the lawyer needs the counsel of one who has sacrificed at the altar of Clio.

JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN.

Hannibal als Politiker. VON EDMUND GROAG. (Vienna: L. W. Seidel and Son. 1929. Pp. 158. 9 M.)

THE story of Hannibal possesses an attraction which the passing centuries can not diminish. His bravery, his skill, his aloneness, and his tragic end still arouse sympathies which make violent partizans of those who study his career. The partizanship of affection for Hannibal is the factor which makes the monograph by Groag so stimulating. But it also arouses suspicion as to the validity of all of his conclusions.

The introductory summary of opinion, ancient and modern, concerning Hannibal is not controversial. The remainder of the book, however, is devoted to a series of interpretations, many of them new and not a few of them startling. A partial outline of the author's conclusions follows.

After the First Punic War, Carthage sought in Spain compensation for the loss of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. The Ebro treaty of 226 was a recognition by Rome of the new Carthaginian Empire. It was in fact a division of the Western Mediterranean between two equal powers. Carthage had no plans of aggression beyond the Ebro nor had the Barcid family. The real cause of the Second Punic War was the interference of Rome in the local brawls of Saguntum (allied to Rome in 220), a patent violation of the Ebro treaty. The Roman account was manufactured by Fabius Pictor and Cato, and accepted without critical examination by Polybius. Hannibal's plan was now to reduce Rome to the limits of central Italy, to free the north, to recover Sardinia and Carthaginian Sicily, and to hold the other western Greeks in a mild form of dependence. The desired result would have been a balance of power in the Western Mediterranean similar to that in the East. There is no trustworthy evidence to support the theory that Hannibal sought to destroy Rome.

Having absolved Carthage and her leaders of all blame for the Second Punic War, Groag continues to defend and to praise his hero with more zeal than accuracy. The following sentence, for example, appears out of place in a scientific study. "Seinen Amtskollegen kennen wir nicht; er wird eine ähnliche Rolle neben ihm gespielt haben wie Bibulus neben Caesar" (p. 115).

In spite of a few gratuitous slips of this character and in spite of occasional strain placed upon incomplete evidence the book has real merit. The author has read widely (if one excepts English and American studies) and carefully. His foot-notes are so numerous that they are continued in the unusually complete index. One is tempted to accept all of the arguments and to subscribe even to the concluding remarks: "Was er vollbracht und geleistet hat, er tat es nicht (wie Alexander,

Caesar oder Napoleon) um seiner selbst, sondern um seines Volkes willen, auf das sich, die düsteren Schatten des Verhängnisses senkten. Selbstlos und mit der vollen Glut seines Herzens dem einen hohen Ziele hingegeben, hat er allein für sein Volk den Kampf aufgenommen wider die furchtbare Gewalt des Schicksals und ihn ohne Wanken und unbeugt bis zum bitteren Ende durchgekämpft."

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND.

Geschichte des Spätromischen Reiches. Von ERNST STEIN. Band I., *Vom Römischen zum Byzantinischen Staate.* (Vienna: L. W. Seidel and Son. 1928. Pp. xxii, 591, with 10 plates and 4 maps. 26 M.)

STEIN's book aims at giving a critical survey of the history of the later Roman Empire.

The first volume consists of an introduction (pp. 1-93) and eleven chapters (pp. 94-590). In the introduction the author gives a general sketch of the political, social, and economic conditions of the Roman Empire during the first three centuries A.D., then speaks of the Roman Law, and of the constitution, administration, and army affairs at the end of the Principate. The eleven chapters cover the period from Diocletian to the so-called "Fall of the Western Roman Empire", in 476.

First of all, we must say that the author is very well acquainted with the source-material, which is abundantly cited in numerous and often very long foot-notes. Perhaps, in these references, it would not have been amiss to emphasize more frequently the importance of the papyri.

The chief basis for Stein's history is six volumes of the well-known work of O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, which is utilized critically, sometimes corrected. The second edition of J. B. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire* has also been of great use. But, of course, following Seeck and often influenced by him the author has studied carefully the whole of the vast and manifold source-material, and presented the subject on the basis of his independent investigation and research.

The main part of the book is devoted to the political history of the epoch, so that the problems of internal history, economic, social, administrative, juridical, and literary, which are also treated by the author, are sometimes lost in many complicated details of political history. The social and economic problems of that period especially ought to have been brought out more clearly and discussed more thoroughly.

Generally speaking, the author is well acquainted with the literature of his subject, not only in the German, but also the English, French, and Italian. His complete disregard of the Russian literature is rather amazing. One might assume that Russian scholars have not contributed at all to the study of that period. This would be wrong. Beside the general histories of Byzantium by J. Kulakovsky, whose first volume (pp. 552 in the second edition, 1913) covers the period of Stein's book, and by Th

Uspensky (1913), the books of V. Bolotov on the history of the Ancient Church (1913), A. Brilliantov on Constantine the Great (1916), N. Cherniavsky (Tcherniavsky) on Theodosius the Great (1913), A. Spassky on the Dogmatic movements in the fourth and fifth centuries (1906), are to be noted. It would be extremely interesting to know the opinion on them of such an eminent scholar as Stein. It would not be amiss to mention also two American books on *Constantine the Great* and the *Establishment of Christianity* by Christopher B. Coleman (1914) and Maude A. Huttman (1914).¹ To the works of polite literature on Julian the Apostate mentioned by Stein on p. 246 there might be added D. Merejowski's novel *Christ and Antichrist. I. The Death of the Gods: Julian the Apostate*, which translated into different languages is widely read everywhere. Of course, Stein could not use F. Lot's book on the same subject, *La Fin du Monde Antique et le Début du Moyen Age*, which came to light too late, in 1927.

There is to be noted Stein's opinion on Ammianus Marcellinus, who, in his judgment, is the greatest literary genius the world has even seen between Tacitus and Dante (p. 331).

The book contains ten plates reproducing the images of different emperors, busts, medallions, coins, heads, the silver shield of Madrid, and a sardonix-cameo of R. Rothschild's collection in Paris. There are added four historical maps drawn by E. Swoboda: Imperium Romanum (1) anno 280 A.D.; (2) anno 309 A.D.; (3) anno 390 A.D.; and (4) anno 454 A.D.

As the author says in the preface, his task was to give the students of history an introduction to the study of the later ancient world and of the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages, a work which has been needed (*eine bisher fehlende Anleitung*, preface, p. vii). The last statement must be modified after the publication in 1927 of F. Lot's book above mentioned.

A. A. VASILIEV.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Historische Opstellen Opgedragen aan Professor Dr. H. Brugmans.

Door zijn Oud-Leerlingen, Leerlingen, Vrienden, en Vereerders.
(Amsterdam: printed in "Kasteel van Aemstel". 1929. Pp. 289.)

At the close of twenty-five years' noteworthy service in the University of Amsterdam, Professor Hajo Brugmans was fittingly honored by the publication of this volume of essays dedicated to him by some of his students and admirers. To those acquainted with Professor Brugmans's work it can not be a surprise that these deal primarily with social, economic, and cultural problems. Three are of interest to medievalists.

¹ See the full titles of these Russian and American works in A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I. (Madison, 1928) 159-161; Spassky on p. 69.

Dr. H. Poelman criticizes current representations of the early trade relations of the town of Groningen and incidentally gives an illuminating statement of Friesian trade activities before the thirteenth century. Dr. H. J. Smit traces the rise of Amsterdam's commerce with England, which, contrary to current notions, does not owe its chief impulse to German trading activities with England, but rather to its native spirit of enterprise. Dr. M. de Jong has many interesting things to say about the Benedictine abbey of Egmond, so important in the history of the county of Holland, during the twelfth century, and particularly about Abbot Wouter. Two of the articles deal with the period of the war for independence, the first by Professor Th. Goossens about the catechetical writings of Franciscus Sonnius, later to be superseded by those of Peter Canisius, and the second by Dr. Emo van Gelder, which explains why the nobility of Friesland and Groningen rebelled against the authority of Philip. They were opposed to the policy of the central government which interfered with their rights and privileges. Their rebellion was due to religious conviction only in a minor degree. Three of the essays deal with modern economic and colonial history, of which the first, by Dr. J. Nanninga, sketches the policy of the United Provinces toward the *rayas* (Greeks, Jews, and Armenians) who in the eighteenth century sought to make Holland the centre of their activities in opposition to the English Turkey Company, and the French monopoly. The Dutch championed free trade with the Levant, even to the detriment of their own traders in Turkey. Dr. E. Timmer describes the capture of Bahia in 1625, using two obscure pamphlets, one in Spanish and one in Portuguese. A succinct and useful survey of the economic history of the Dutch East Indies is given by Dr. W. Mansvelt. Social and educational conditions in France and the United Provinces during the eighteenth century are discussed in an enlightening manner by Dr. T. Geest. The abortive efforts to stay the economic decline of Zierikzee and to found a university there are described by Dr. J. Westendorp Boerma. Especially interesting for historiography is the article of Dr. I. Brugmans on the ideas about history held by the statesman Thorbecke, who in his youth studied in German universities and was attracted by the philosophic tendencies of German historians. His influence was very limited, however, for Dutch historians, following the example of Fruin, have generally shown themselves averse to philosophic generalizations. Dr. J. Presser contributes a similar article on Anatole France's historical interests. Students interested in recent history will be pleased by Dr. J. Witlox's article on Thorbecke's first ministry, by that of Dr. W. Jouwersma on the Congress of Berlin, and by Dr. J. Manger's suggestive study on the system of dual and triple alliances since 1871.

H. S. LUCAS.

Mediaeval Culture: an Introduction to Dante and his Times. By KARL VOSSLER, translated by WILLIAM CRANSTON LAWTON. Two volumes. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1929. Pp. x, 354; x, 454. \$8.00.)

VOSSLER's monumental work was first published in 1907-1910 as *Die Göttliche Komödie*, and part of it appeared in Italian translation in 1909-1913. The second German edition, with extensive changes and additions, appeared in 1925, and from this the English translation was made. Thus the work is not a new one to Dante students; but the English edition has the benefit of discussion by many German and Italian critics, in so far as the author has seen fit to modify his original statements. In a special preface he approves the change of title to *Mediaeval Culture*, which really describes the book more accurately than the title which seemed to limit it to a consideration of Dante's poem; and yet, he continues, his primary aim was to bring home to the mind and heart of his readers the great poem itself. In this aim he is strikingly successful, and at the same time his work demonstrates how appropriately a study of the Middle Ages as a whole may have as its centre an intensive study of Dante.

The work consists of two distinct parts: the "background", religious, philosophical, ethical-political (treated by Vossler as one), and literary; and "the Poetry of the 'Divine Comedy'", which occupies less than half of volume II. The author suggests that many readers may well begin with the literary background and the discussion of the poetry in volume II. before undertaking the more abstruse discussions of volume I. This arrangement and this suggestion at once indicate a duality in the method of approach: historic investigation of sources on the one hand, and aesthetic criticism on the other. Vossler repeatedly emphasizes the unity of his conception, and yet the plan of his work allows the two attitudes to exist side by side, and the fundamental part of it is the historical. He protests, as does Croce, against the "positivist" method of studying Dante, and insists on the non-historical character of art, but he continually brings out the relation of Dante's thought to its sources; there is a certain inconsistency here between his theory and his practice, for the two attitudes are not fused as they are in Croce's *Poetry of Dante*. If, however, this duality is evident, it does not greatly detract from the usefulness of Vossler's work, and the value of many of his ideas. Exclusively aesthetic criticism of Dante is hardly possible—as Vossler says, the romantic method of criticism has its limits and has reached them—since comprehensive study of the background is indispensable in the case of a poem in many ways so remote from us as the *Divine Comedy*. As philosopher, as theologian, as political theorist, as a Catholic, Dante was not and did not aim to be original. In a sense the *Divine Comedy* is a folk-song, for it sums up the ideals and dreams of the people; it is great and original only as a work of art, but with all the necessary insistence on poetic unity, there is justification for the use of the historical method in studying Dante if it does not usurp the place of the aesthetic.

Vossler's procedure attains unity best in the study of the literary background and in the running comment on the *Divine Comedy*. In his first edition he declared that the *Paradiso*, on account of its subject, was a futile attempt to express the inexpressible; now, however, he recognizes that the entire poem has a consistently transcendent subject, rising to a climax in the *Paradiso*. Without the Troubadours Dante could hardly have developed his poetic technique, and without the Franciscan movement he could not have attained his mature point of view, the *Divine Comedy* being for Vossler the product of the years 1314-1321.

Apart from all reservations, the work of Vossler deserves the attention of students of medieval history for its broad generalizations based on comprehensive investigation, and in particular for its brilliant analysis of Dante's works. It assumes considerable knowledge of history and of the facts of Dante's life, and in the main does not depart from accepted views as to matters of fact; its originality consists in the synthetic interpretation. Obviously it was written for German readers; nearly all the books cited in the foot-notes are German, and there are frequent references to German poets, particularly Goethe. Little is said about the Italian wording, the linguistic effect of Dante's style, and thus one important aspect, always emphasized by Italian critics, is ignored. When Vossler speaks of the poetic form, he after all refers primarily to the thought, since the form depends so largely on the choice of words, the sound and rhythm of the verses. This quality fits the book for study by non-Italian readers, and the fact that it has received so much consideration from Italian critics as well is a tribute to its originality and importance. Professor Lawton's translation is excellent, but it is to be wished that he had not used the adjective "Dantesque" so frequently; a "Dantesque" poem is in English a poem like Dante's, not a poem by Dante. The quotations from the comedy are given in Longfellow's translation (one would not say "the Longfellowesque translation"). Professor Spingarn has furnished for this edition an admirable bibliography of some forty pages; as the great majority of the works mentioned are in English, and as most of those cited by Vossler are in German, we get the curious result that the great mass of Dante literature in Italian is left out of account. For readers who know no Italian, this is perhaps an advantage; but we must protest against the statement (p. 428) that the standard text of Dante's complete works is the "Oxford Dante" rather than the critical text published in 1921 by the Società Dantesca Italiana.

K. McKENZIE.

The Documents of Iriki: Illustrative of the Development of the Feudal Institutions of Japan. Translated and edited by K. ASAKAWA, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History and Curator of the Japanese and Chinese Collections in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. xvi, 442, and 142 pages of documents in Japanese and Chinese. \$7.50.)

THE author of this volume states in his preface, "it is, indeed, the first attempt ever made to supply the student of European institutional history with original sources [Japanese and Chinese] in translation of the feudal development of the Japanese nation" (p. viii), but he does much more than this. The book is arranged in several parts. Its introduction of thirty-six pages is devoted to a brief statement of matters that are essential for an intelligent approach to the main subject of the work, such as the geography of the territory and the feudal family directly involved in the documents. The reader is amply initiated in this introductory study into the author's scholarship. It is well documented.

Then follows what the writer styles "a summary of points", an analytical statement of the subject-matter embodied in the documents under four headings: Origin, Development, Relations, and Régime. Under the first, such matters as local divisions, land, vassalage, and the "inchoate" fief are studied with the author's own conclusion; under the second, the fief, organization of vassalage, and the warrior are discussed; under the third are analyzed the relations between lord and vassal, between lords, lords and shogun, lords and the imperial court, etc.; and under the fourth is presented a discussion of military affairs, administration, legislation, judicature, and finance. In this connection suggestions are offered as to how comparative studies between Japanese and French feudalism may be attempted. The summary may be considered an indispensable guide to the use of the documents, and yet the author modestly insists that it must be "regarded as at once partial and tentative" (p. 37).

At this point he presents his bibliography, a list of books and manuscripts in Japanese and Chinese, relative to the Iriki documents and allied sources and his own works in English. It is interesting to note that only four foreign names appear in the list, namely, E. W. Clement, F. Brinkley, J. Murdoch, and J. C. Hall.

The above matters, important and helpful as they are to students, are but preliminary to the main body of the volume, the documents of Iriki, numbering one hundred and fifty-five of varied length. Each of these documents bears a title or a description and a date; thus the oldest is entitled "Order of the Head of Godai In" and is dated 1135, and the latest is described "Documents Relative to the Passing of the Old Régime" and is dated 1869-1870. Such being the case, it is impossible to present an adequate description of the documents as a whole in a review of this kind. Nor is it possible to state specifically what material is to be found in them. So the reviewer is forced to make a general

observation once more that students find in these documents ample material for a study of Japanese feudalism extending from 1135 to 1870, embracing such aspects as the origin, development, relations, and the régime with their subtopics mentioned above.

A few words may be said as to the author's task in translating and editing the documents. One who is not familiar with the original languages will probably fail to appreciate the difficulty involved in the present translation. For instance, even a thorough knowledge of modern Japanese is insufficient for the task because the Japanese language, like other languages, has not remained static. Both spoken and written Japanese of the twelfth century is quite different from that of later centuries. The author is a master of this evolving Japanese tongue as well as Chinese. For this reason his rendition of these Oriental languages in clear and simple English is a contribution worthy of gratitude on the part of both Western and Japanese students. Nor is the author's task of editing these documents a simple one. On the contrary, his effort should double our gratitude. Each document is accompanied by a study of biographical, geographical, and historical data that are necessary in making its meaning clear; also by means of full notes the author explains practically everything of importance. Furthermore, a study of the Iriki in genealogy is added in the form of appendixes, and a very satisfactory index is included. Finally, 134 pages are devoted to a presentation of the documents in their original languages for the benefit of Japanese students.

YAMATO ICHIHASHI.

The History of British Civilization. By ESMÉ WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, D.Sc. Two volumes. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1928. Pp. xvi, 1332. 42 s.)

THE continuity of England, geographically and chronologically, has acted as a challenge to historians to tell its story as one unbroken narrative from the beginning to the writer's own time. The venerable Bede, William of Malmesbury, Ralph Higden and Ralph Holinshed, Polydore Vergil, Hume, Lingard, Green, Gardiner, Trevelyan, and a score of others have essayed to give a complete narrative of its occurrences in greater or less detail. But this book is of a different type. It is rather a series of comments on men and events through that long period—an effort to interpret them and to make generalizations concerning them, than the informative stuff of which genuine history is made.

There seems to be need of a new name for the kind of writing of which this book is an excellent example, and of which Mr. Strachey's recent *Elizabeth and Essex* is a still more popular example. That they are not history in any real sense can be shown by two easy tests. Another writer might make the same hasty survey of the sources and write an account that would differ completely from these and yet both accounts would have equal claims to acceptance. The subjective element in the

narrative is so great that there is no satisfactory test of objective reality. Surely history is not a matter of purely personal interpretation, but of statement attested by contemporary witnesses and accepted by all serious students, except in a few controversial points. A second test is to be found in the fact that the writing of such works adds nothing to our gradually accumulating store of knowledge. So far as acquaintance with the past goes we are just where we were before. This book must therefore be something else than history, for history, like other branches of knowledge, is progressive.

There is every defense for such writing. It has all the claims on the interest, enjoyment, and enlightenment of the reader that any other form of pure literature possesses. But there should be no confusion about the matter; it is literature, not history. Of such writing Mr. Wingfield-Stratford's book is, as has been said above, an excellent example. Though the fact is not mentioned on the title-page or in the preface, it is, evidently, an extension of his *History of British Patriotism*, published in 1913. It reflects the increased intensity of feeling that has come from events since that date, though the period since the outbreak of the war is still left for a later volume. It is written on broader lines than the earlier work. The author takes his title seriously. "British" includes not only English and Scottish, but Irish, colonial, and even Indian affairs, so far as these are not purely native; and "civilization" includes politics, literature, learning, art, religion, commerce, finance and social organization. The general course of events is rather taken for granted; perhaps Englishmen draw in a certain amount of knowledge of their country's history with their native breath. At any rate there is little attempt at a statement of facts or detail of narrative. He devotes one page to the reign of James II., to which Macaulay gives about a thousand.

A reader familiar with the main facts and personalities of English history can hardly read this book without a constant sense of exhilaration awakened by its suggestiveness, flashes of insight, occasional introduction of new knowledge, and use of pregnant or happy expressions. His subdivision of the whole story into Catholic civilization, Protestant civilization, the aristocratic age, and the machine age, is typical of a characteristic freshness of interpretation. Such titles of chapters or sections as "Money Begins to Talk", "Spiritual Bolshevism", "A War of Attrition", "Augustine Complacency" are the outer indications of a constant stream of spirited and original observations in the text. The man who can contrast Pitt in the "ardent dawn of his career" with the time when "the weight of ministerial responsibility and a Tory majority lay upon him heavy as frost" may be allowed some sensational headings. His comments arouse abundant opposing views on the part of the reader. One may feel that he is too credulous in even discussing a possible Hittite or Cretan influence on early Britain, that his contrast between the "reflective earnestness" of the Anglo-Saxons and the "ruthless efficiency" of the Norsemen is quite insufficiently proved, and doubt that "Polish blood guiltiness" is the clue to the nineteenth-century

policy of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. One may doubt whether the industrial revolution produced a "squalid misery unprecedented in our annals . . . which boiled and simmered under the obscene smoke clouds that were already beginning to darken the sky". Indeed, few radical or socialist writers have harder things to say of the responsibility of the upper classes for social misery than this Cambridge don. But he has a many-sided responsiveness to the interests of all classes that enables him to enter sympathetically into their feelings, and a body of unusually specialized knowledge that carries him easily through the whole course of development of English architecture, art, and literature. It is, therefore, no disparagement to Mr. Wingfield-Stratford's book to call it a work of comment on history rather than itself a history. To make a sustained and brilliant interpretation of the course of British life from the Stone Age to the outbreak of the war is a piece of excellent and rewarding English scholarship and one we willingly commend to all readers. Only the rest of us must go on with our works of research.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Some Lessons from our Legal History. By WILLIAM SEARLE HOLDSWORTH, D.C.L., Vinerian Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Oxford. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. ix, 198. \$2.00.)

ONE of the outstanding advantages in belonging to a semi-learned (or quasi-learned) profession like the law is that a real scholar of the subject can count on obtaining an audience of fairly respectable dimensions for the more significant fruits of his researches without incurring intellectual lumbago in an effort of condescension. In this small volume the learned author of the monumental *History of English Law* has brought together with great skill some of the broader lessons of English legal history and with equal deftness has pointed out their present-day implications and applications. The outcome is a volume which ought to be of great interest not only to students, but to the numerous organizations which an acute need is bringing into existence from time to time for the improvement of American law and the means of its enforcement.

The opening of the four lectures discusses the conditions which made it possible to develop successfully a system of case-law in England. The primary condition was a centralized judicial system in consequence of which it was worth while to report the decisions of only a small number of courts. The contrast offered by American conditions with their annual spawn of 75,000 reported decisions of all degrees of merit is too obvious to elicit Professor Holdsworth's comment. Other conditions emphasize the same contrast: the small size of the English bar, its solidarity with the bench, the security of tenure of the bench. Instructive, too, is Professor Holdsworth's elucidation of the debt which English law owes to the partnership between Parliament and the bar. It was due to this partnership above everything else that Parliament alone of

all medieval assemblies became a workable legislature, for, as he points out, it is those who spend their lives in enforcing and applying the law who know best how to give suggested legislation enforceable and applicable form.

The second lecture illustrates from the history of the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury "the commonplace of legal history, that the form taken by the legal machinery of an early period . . . has a lasting influence on the substantive law of later ages" (p. 58). Both these institutions were originally devices of royal administration, and their practical workability was therefore thoroughly tested before they became instruments of liberty. It is to this fact that the distinctive emphasis of political discussion in England upon remedies rather than rights is to be attributed, as well as its early identification of supremacy of law with that of the common law. It would seem, nevertheless, that Professor Holdsworth disparages rather too much the influence of legal and political theory on the development of the common law (see pp. 84 and 109). His account of the *how* of things is convincing and adequate; that of the *why* of things less so.

In his third lecture Professor Holdsworth himself turns to consider a topic of speculative interest mainly—the modern attack on the notion of sovereignty. This attack, he asserts, has far less pertinency to English than to Continental conditions since the theory of sovereignty in England has remained a lawyer's theory to which, therefore, exceptions have always been readily admitted in practice. Similarly, in the presence of the English legal concept of trusts, the question of the abstract nature of corporate persons loses much of its poignancy.

The last lecture emphasizes the need of legal education for legislators in an age when "cranks, faddists and worse abound everywhere", but congregate especially in legislative assemblies (p. 185); and also the importance that the modern American law school has had in producing the scientifically trained writer on law (pp. 186 ff.).

The volume abounds in interesting *dicta*. One should be brought to the attention of President Hoover's Commission on Law Enforcement: "The jury works well in England mainly because the bench is stronger than the bar" (p. 85).

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

L'Introduction des Décrets du Concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans le Principauté de Liège. Par l'Abbé F. WILLOCX, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres, Professeur à l'Institut Sainte-Marie à Bruxelles. (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire. 1920. Pp. xxx, 317. 40 fr.)

"An adequate history of the reception of the decrees of the Council of Trent is still lacking", wrote the great Pastor in 1920. This lack had been partially filled by the studies of J. Mayer for Switzerland, of L. Febvre for Franche-Comté, and of Martin for France. To these works

must now be added the fine book of Abbé Willocx. Until he instructed us only the vaguest, or most erroneous, notions of the introduction of the Tridentine decrees into the Netherlands prevailed. Motley barely mentioned the opposition of the people to the publication of the decrees; Gossart spoke simply of the publication and in general terms of the reservations; the accounts of Philippon, Poulet, Heere, Prat, Rachfahl, and others are incorrect in certain particulars. Only Diercxsens, Ram, and Pirenne described the reception correctly, but they did it only in the most general terms. The researches of Abbé Willocx not only in the abundant printed sources but in the archives have at last uncovered with precision and in detail a process which had great importance both for the history of the church and for that of the Netherlands. It is hardly too much to say that the strife over these decrees was one important cause for the revolt and secession of the Northern Provinces.

An introductory chapter illuminates the religious policy of Philip II., which is characterized as caesaropapism, and the religious situation of the Netherlands. Not the least interesting pages of the book are those describing the corruption, the poverty, and the difficulties of the Dutch and Flemish clergy. The parish priests were often ignorant, lazy, and immoral, and always hard pressed for money. Some were already infected with heresy, and the others were usually so unfitted, and so untrained, for their office that they could not state correctly the number of the sacraments, still less administer them acceptably. Concubinage, drunkenness, superstition, and ribaldry, not to say sacrilege, were common. The condition of the cloisters was morally even worse than that of the secular clergy; though in explaining it the author seems to fall into a contradiction, for while he attributes the moral evils of the parish priests to their poverty (p. 27), he attributes those of the regular clergy to their wealth (p. 30).

Against all these scandals the decrees of the Council of Trent provided drastic remedies. Doubtless that was a main objection to them in the sight of the priests and monks who thought heresy a lesser evil than strict regulation of their lives, and who would have preferred the Reformation to a reform. Another obstacle to the promulgation of the decrees was the fierce spirit of liberty and of attachment to ancient local privileges prevailing throughout the Low Countries. Finally, the hesitation of the government itself, which wished to publish the decrees only with extensive reservations safeguarding the royal "patronage, rights, pre-eminences, and jurisdiction", placed a stumbling-block in the path of Catholic reform.

After a hard struggle, however, in which the resistance of the bishops, chapters, and people was overcome only by the terror of Alva's sword—a struggle followed in great detail by Abbé Willocx—the decrees were promulgated throughout the whole Netherlands, North and South. In establishing this point, the learned author corrects the error prevailing even in official Catholic circles until now, that the decrees were never officially published in the Northern Provinces. This matter, which be-

came important in connection with the subject of heretical, mixed, and secret marriages, was made the subject of a papal investigation in 1741, but proved so difficult that it was then left undetermined, and the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts in dealing with such marriages was accordingly regulated by a special dispensation. But though published in all the provinces, the decrees could be enforced only in the Catholic and Spanish South, and even there they were enforced only with such vague and large reservations as rendered them acceptable to the royal and archducal government, though in large part ineffective for the purposes of the church.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Bibliography of British History: Stuart Period, 1603-1714. Edited by GODFREY DAVIES, Assistant Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. [Issued under the direction of the Royal Historical Society and the American Historical Association.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. x, 459. 21 s.)

THERE is not a student of seventeenth-century Britain who will not be happy to get his hands on this volume. It represents the accumulated work of many, but above all that of its editor-in-chief. There was no one either in England or America save Professor Sir Charles Firth so qualified to undertake and carry through this volume as Professor Godfrey Davies, whose learning, apparent on every page, is lightly carried, as if he would fain conceal it.

We naturally ask much of such a volume. It should familiarize students entering upon the subject with the materials of the field and with which are most important; it should furnish check-lists by which libraries can fill in their gaps. Gross's *Sources and Literature of English Medieval History to 1485* has long been on the revolving bookshelf of order departments in libraries, his *Bibliography of English Municipal History* has determined the books on local history to which we turn. A bibliography should give the trained student suggestions about allied fields, it should suggest to the mature student paths that would be worth following up; it should be so well done that even Sir Charles Firth would get new and useful ideas from turning its pages. It should not be done in a hurry or under pressure from organizations, but carried on an aside over a period of years by one worker, with all the workers in the field putting in suggestions. Measured by such a standard this work of course falls short. It is nevertheless an excellent and useful compilation. Two serious criticisms can be made against it, the outline and the index. Since the outline is being discussed fully in another periodical, I shall deal with the index. The editor is quite honest in stating the plan and limits of the index. It is an index made for those who know the field and who, if they can not find a title in one way, will think of another way to get at it. I believe that the index should have been the most thorough table in the book, that every proper name in every title, every author and every

editor, should have been included, that subject-entries should have been very full, with orderly subdivisions carefully made, on the theory that the least intelligent person could find his way by means of it, and that the most intelligent person would glean information from it. The best modern analytical indexes are almost a series of little monographs, and what a help they are!

It is an easy game to find omissions in a bibliography; we all know the story of Gross on the day after his book came out, and Mr. Davies could probably find more omissions than any one else. Price's excellent monograph on monopolies is not included, nor Rothschild's *Gedanke der Geschriebenen Verfassung*, nor Firth's paper on the Court of Cromwell (Cornhill n.s., 3), nor Gardiner's on "Cromwell's Constitutional Aims" (*Contemporary Review*, 77), nor Catterall's on "Anglo-Dutch Relations 1654-1660" (A. H. A. *Annual Report* 1910). The writings of Max Weber which deal with the relations of Puritanism to capitalism ought not to be overlooked even if hidden under the unpromising title *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Creizenach's standard work on the *English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* ought not to be left out. Forster's account of Pym in the Lardner series deserves mention rather than Wade's almost worthless *Life*. Sir Edwin Sandys's *Europae Speculum* had not a little influence and should be included if only for its enlightened outlook. The irrepressible William Prynne would be rightly astonished at his absence from the index. Who more than Wenceslaus Hollar by his prints has given us a visual notion of early seventeenth-century London, of great scenes and of costumes, and he appears in the index only as the maker of six maps?

One could continue the list of omissions. Actual mistakes save for a few proof-reading slips are much harder to find. One might point out that too many items are classified under *Miscellaneous*, one might criticize the haphazard selection of pamphlets about witchcraft, one might point out some useful special bibliographies not mentioned. Such criticisms could be made against any bibliography done against time. It was the sober opinion of the editor that the "interests of historical scholarship will be better served by the appearance of this volume now with all its imperfections than by delaying it for further revision", and there is a case for that view. If students everywhere will join in sending in corrections and additions, we can hope in fifteen years to have a new edition that will be an almost perfect thing of its sort. It is possibly worth mentioning that three special bibliographies of seventeenth-century England (not of Britain) are at present in course of preparation, one by Miss Sue Churchill of materials to be found in English local societies, a second by Miss Eleanor Upton of the materials in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and a third of social history in plays by Arthur E. Bestor, jr.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

The Cambridge History of the British Empire. Edited by J. HOLLAND ROSE, M.A., Litt.D., Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval History in the University of Cambridge, Fellow of Christ's College, A. P. NEWTON, M.A., D.Lit., Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London, Fellow of King's College, London, and E. A. BENIANS, M.A., Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Volume I, *The Old Empire from the Beginnings to 1783*. (Cambridge: the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xxii, 931. 35 s., \$9.50.)

ONE may say at the outset that this volume, written by nearly a score of authors, is entirely competent and authoritative. The contributors have been drawn from a wide field. The name of Professor C. M. Andrews of Yale University is a guarantee of deep and accurate research. His chapters on The Acts of Trade and The Government of the Empire, 1660-1773, show as the cause of the final break that Great Britain insisted on enduring subordination of the colonies. Professor Alvord was to have written on the American Revolution but owing to his lamented death this is done by one whom no doubt he often consulted, Mr. Cecil Headlam, the editor of the Colonial Series of the *Calendars of State Papers*. Sir Charles Lucas, a former high official of the colonial office, describes in a suggestive introduction how subordination has now passed into the equality of the self-governing dominions and quotes the Declaration of Equality proposed by Great Britain to the Imperial Conference and adopted in 1926, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, that Great Britain and the dominions are alike "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown" (p. 20). We may imagine what comment on this statement would have been made by the members of the Board of Trade and Plantations who from 1696 onwards made it their chief business to instruct colonial governors to uphold the royal prerogative, to insist that colonial legislatures had no standing like that of Parliament in London, and to see to the enforcement of the Acts of Navigation and the prohibition of manufactures in the Colonies. The modern British Empire has evolved a common and a dual patriotism—that to the nation within the Empire and that to the Empire as a whole. This the older Empire had not done; each colony was self-centred while Great Britain thought that colonies existed chiefly for her benefit.

The present volume is only the first of a series of eight, two on imperial policy and expansion, two on India, and three on the history of the self-governing dominions. The West Indies and North America are naturally the chief fields included and it is interesting to note that to the outbreak of the American Revolution the West Indies were regarded

in England as the more important. They had become chiefly producers of sugar; sugar involved large plantations and slave labor; and the profits of the trade were such that scores of rich men lived in luxury in England on incomes derived from the West Indies, and regarded the slave trade as the basis of their prosperity. It was necessary in order to secure labor. It is not soothing to the awakened moral sense of this generation to read the pronouncement of a writer in 1749 that enslaved negroes were "the first happy instruments of raising our Plantations" and that "the Negroe-Trade . . . [is] justly esteemed an inexhaustible Fund of Wealth and Naval Power to this Nation" (p. 437). One Englishman and ten negroes in the West Indies would use commodities requiring four workmen in England for their production. Accordingly; the more slaves the more workmen in British industry.

From a distant part of the present British Empire, South Africa, Professor Ewing contributes one of the most suggestive chapters of the volume, that on the Constitution of the Empire—from Bacon to Blackstone. The chief result of modern research about the American Revolution is to show that it was due to causes deeper than transient and remediable sources of irritation. Neither side quite understood the forces impelling it. The colonists asserted the ancient liberties of Englishmen, the mother country, the undoubted historical fact that the colonies had always admitted subordination. It was hardly realized that climate, mode of life, an entrenched upper class on the one hand and its absence on the other, many differences in conditions, were making two peoples so unlike that appeal to liberties and relations of the past was invalid. Professor Ewing says: "The concept of evolution with the expectant, critical attitude of mind which is its offspring, was unknown to the peoples of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. . . . Their view of history was a static one. . . . [They] took no account of the influence of environment on human development and regarded government as a piece of machinery rather than a natural growth" (p. 603). It has taken the second British Empire a long time to learn this lesson; but at last it has so learned it that old loyalties are not altered by the present changed status in relations.

It is probable that in no other single volume is to be found so much that is authoritative on conditions in the first British Empire. The writers keep constantly in view the European background of the rivalries with Spain, Holland, and France. Nearly all of them have gone to manuscript as well as to printed material referred to in foot-notes. There is a bibliography of more than sixty pages, which may be accepted as a safe guide. It is true that one may say of the book what Carlyle said of the first two volumes of Froude's *History of England*, "meritorious but too much raw material". The volume is solidly informing but not many will be tempted to read it through. It is essentially a book of reference.

Errors are few. The frequent use of the subjective "we", "our", and "this island" jars a little; the historian, as such, has no country. There is a mistake in the date of Grenville's dismissal (p. 658). All the

North American coast from Hudson Bay to Savannah was not British after 1713 (p. 388). Scotsmen might well object to the frequent use of "English" when "British" is meant. The volume is a credit to its authors and embodies far-reaching reflection and research. It is really a triumph of the scientific spirit in historical writing that every controversial topic is treated with complete detachment. Quite obviously Clio is now free from prejudices and preferences.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

The Era of the French Revolution, 1715-1815. By LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK, Associate Professor of History in the University of Chicago. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1929. Pp. xii, 509. \$3.00.)

"THIS book" says the author in his preface "is intended as a general introduction to the study of European history preceding and during the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon. As such it has little pretention to being anything more than a presentation of the latest interpretations of that era. . . . In some matters indeed the author has on the basis of his own study of the original sources ventured to disagree with the chief secondary authorities. If this present study however has any merit at all it is not in any new interpretations or hypotheses that it sets forth but in its adaptation for American readers of the findings of the best European scholarship."

In view of the author's aim two comments may be made: first, that as a general introduction to the era there is too little space devoted to conditions outside of France; and, second, and of more moment, the main points of his disagreement with other authorities might have been summarized or at least noted specifically in the preface. But aside from this criticism and an occasional inaccuracy—as for instance, the inclusion of Sieyès among the deputies already elected to the States General by May 5—the work has merit and decided merit. The author may have passed lightly over material conditions in the rest of Europe but he has given an admirable picture of the material conditions within France, of eighteenth-century philosophy and of efforts toward reform. In fact he makes clear, in the words of Chateaubriand which he himself quotes, that the French Revolution "was accomplished before it occurred". The work as a whole is marked by proportion and moderation. The author's own slant toward the left does not prevent him from giving a fair statement of differing opinion on moot points. For instance, though he regards the massacres of September as a spontaneous movement, "an inevitable result of the panic arising from the fear of foreign invasion and internal conspiracy", he adds "so near is explanation to justification that the historian runs the danger in trying to make things understood of also condoning them. It would be futile to underestimate the horror, the savagery, the uncalled for brutality of those September days". Again in speaking of the difference between the Girondins and the Jacobins

he writes: "Yet there undoubtedly were charges made by one party against the other which were without foundation. Thus the Girondins accused the Jacobins of what we today would loosely call communism, and the Jacobins replied with a charge of federalism, a desire to break France up into a loosely knit group of small republics. Neither accusation was wholly true, and, indeed, not always made with entire sincerity. But there was enough of a social philosophy in the Montagnard dogma to make the enemies of social reform fearful of them. . . . And there was enough of a desire among the Girondins for the equality of the provincial cities with Paris to furnish a basis for the accusation of decentralization."

A lively style—sometimes bordering on the colloquial and a skillful use of the concrete give the work value not only as a text-book but as a general account for the general reader. To take a single instance, the well-known fact that office in the church was frequently sought as a vocation by persons totally unfitted for it spiritually is made vivid by the remark that "many a young blood who knew more about the rules of duelling than the rule of the Benedictine Order became an abbot while his comrade who had spent more time with the cups than the chalice became a bishop". An excellent bibliography, the form of which however might be improved, adds to the usefulness of the book.

ELOISE ELLERY.

L'Empereur Nicolas Ier et l'Esprit National Russe. Par L. STRAKHOVSKY, Docteur en Sciences Historiques. [Recueil de Travaux Publiés par les Membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie de l'Université de Louvain, 2me sér., 13me fasc.] (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire. 1928. Pp. xvi, 131.)

Pouchkine et la Pologne. Par VENCESLAS LEDNICKI, Professeur à l'Université de Cracovie. (Paris: Leroux. 1928. Pp. 210. 20 fr.)

MR. STRAKHOVSKY'S book, as he says himself in his preface, is not a piece of historical research, but claims to give a general interpretation of the reign of Nicholas I. in Russia. The task is well worth while as a better understanding of the Russian history of the period is greatly wanted. The introduction contains a general outline of Russian history and Russian national psychology. The first chapter deals with the condition of Russia at Alexander I.'s death, and the remaining five chapters with the personality of Nicholas I. and his relations with Russian society. Nicholas is the favorite hero of Mr. Strakhovsky who tries to justify him in all his clashes with Russian public opinion. According to Mr. Strakhovsky, Nicholas was "one of the greatest Russian emperors" who, however, was not understood by the nation. Four points in the development of Nicholas's relations with Russian society are analyzed: the rising of the Decembrists, Nicholas's relations with Pushkin, the conflict

between the Slavophiles and the Westernizers, and the appearance of the "first Russian revolutionaries" (Herzen, Petrashevsky). These are interesting and important points, but they do not exhaust the whole problem. Moreover they are treated rather superficially. One of the reasons for this is the scarcity of Mr. Strakhovsky's sources of information. Of course, it is not his fault that he was not able to use the Russian archives; but he certainly could have used more extensively the printed materials. First of all, there were the excellent indications given by Professor Polievktov in his biography of Nicholas I. (1918); but this book is not even mentioned by Mr. Strakhovsky. He says himself in his preface that Schilder's biography of Nicholas I. has been his main guide. Schilder's is of course a good book but it was published a quarter of a century ago. Besides, Schilder's work remained unfinished. There is no evidence that Mr. Strakhovsky used Barsukov's *Life and Works of Pogodin* published in Russia before the war in many volumes, which contains a wealth of information on the development of ideas in Russia under Nicholas I. The bibliography of Mr. Strakhovsky is in general very incomplete. Only the 1826 publications, for example, are cited with reference to the Decembrists' trial, although many materials have been published since 1905 and a new and complete publication of the proceedings of the Supreme Commission of Inquiry has been started by the Soviet government. Some important reference works on the Decembrists as well as on the Slavophiles and the Westernizers—the works of Semevsky and others—also are missing. On the whole the book is not an adequate treatment of the subject.

Mr. Lednicki's book is of quite another character. He is analyzing a very definite problem, and his analysis is a deep and exhaustive one. He knows his sources, and his book is a good piece of historical criticism. The problem treated partly covers the subject of one of Mr. Strakhovsky's chapters, namely, that on the political views of Pushkin. Mr. Lednicki, however, is dealing only with Pushkin's ideas concerning the Polish problem. A thorough analysis of the three poems directed against Poland, or rather against the Polonophile standpoint, brings Mr. Lednicki to the conclusion that the poems are in complete agreement with the general drift of Pushkin's ideas. Therefore, there is no place for supposition that these poems were written by order of Nicholas I. The Polish problem of Pushkin's period has not, however, been treated impartially. He is right when he says that Pushkin had a narrow, pro-Russian, nationalistic point of view in his attitude towards it, but his pro-Polish standpoint is no less narrow and nationalistic. And yet he writes almost a century after the events.

G. VERNADSKY.

Histoire de la Crise Économique des Flandres (1845-1850). Par G. JACQUEMYS. (Brussels: Lamertin. 1929. Pp. 472.)

BELGIUM, largely due to the sober conservatism of its people, took no part in the continent-wide Revolution of 1848, despite the upheaval in France on the one side and Germany on the other. This steadiness at a time when her neighbors were in commotion seems singular enough when one realizes the terrible industrial crisis through which the country had passed during the three preceding years and from whose effects it was still suffering. But things were on the mend in 1848 and doubtless this essentially hard-working, religious population desired nothing more fervently than a rapid return to normal conditions.

The crisis is described with admirable thoroughness by Professor Jacquemys in the monograph (crowned by the Royal Academy of Belgium) here under review. It was felt chiefly in the twin provinces of East and West Flanders and within their borders more especially by the districts given over to the raising, spinning, and weaving of flax. This was a rural and a household industry. The Flemish weaver (and his women-folk, who did the spinning) devoted the winter to flax and linen; from June to September the chief occupation was agriculture. Most of them were day-laborers on the farms of others. The combination enabled the inhabitants of this thickly populated section to eke out at least a scanty living. Professor Jacquemys publishes a number of extremely interesting budgets, from which it appears that the weaver's average weekly earnings were 6 francs 60, those of his wife 2.70 and those of two children 3.60, a total family income of 12 francs 90, while the cost of living for the family came to 13 francs 20 (food 8.95, washing .35, fire 1.50, light .30, clothing .50, rent 1.60), leaving a deficit of 30 centimes, to be made up in some other way. With so slight a margin of subsistence, any industrial maladjustment would spell disaster. It came in the years 1845-1847, due to the coincidence of a variety of happenings, which are minutely analyzed by the author. The Revolution of 1830 deprived the country of its Dutch markets; from 1841 to 1845, customs legislation cut off the Spanish and French markets more and more, the latter having previously taken 9/10 of the Flemish output. The Industrial Revolution made itself felt after 1837; Girard's invention introduced mechanical spinning of flax into England, whose competition ruined the hand-industry of Flanders. But, the conservatism of the weavers and the vested interests of the merchants clung stubbornly to the old methods; as a result, exports of the product were reduced by half from 1835 to 1847. The income of the weavers was cut to so low a point that government and private agencies were forced to render an all too inadequate relief. Upon this exhausted population there fell the agricultural crisis of 1845-1846, when the potato and cereal crops failed. This was followed by the typhus epidemic of 1847 and that of cholera in 1849. The inevitable consequence was a great increase in pauperism, a marked advance in beggary, crime, mortality, emigration, and hence a loss of population in the two provinces.

The study is an example of scientific accuracy. It is based on an exhaustive documentation and illustrated by statistical tables and diagrams throughout. M. Jacquemyns is not satisfied with the extent of his archival material, which is, however, considerable. It is improbable that further discoveries along this line would seriously modify his conclusions. For practical purposes, the study is final.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

La Crise de la Neutralité Belge de 1848: le Dossier Diplomatique.

Publiée par A. DE RIDDER, Directeur Général des Archives et de la Noblesse au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Tomes I. and II. (Brussels: M. Weissenbruch. 1928. Pp. xxxvi, 394; 329.)

WHEN the news of February 25, 1848, reached Brussels, the king and his ministers were thrown into a condition of very real alarm. At first thought, this state of mind of the government may cause surprise. But a closer examination of the situation reveals the fact that the February Revolution created, for a few weeks, a very serious situation for the supporters of the Belgian monarchy, and one that was fraught with potential dangers. Obviously, one of these dangers was France itself. In an earlier work, Monsieur de Ridder has shown that Belgium, from the very day of her stroke for independence, had felt a certain anxiety as far as France was concerned. The age-long traditions of France seemed a menace to her integrity, and, after the final settlement, much of her sense of security depended upon the maintenance of Louis Philippe, father-in-law of Leopold, upon the throne of France.

But when the Bourgeois monarch was gone on the road to exile at Claremont the danger to Belgium was revived. True, there was little chance of an immediate attack from the French armies, for they were in a condition of disorganization that made such action extremely unlikely. But, as so often when other revolutions had occurred in Paris, there was the more insidious menace of propaganda.

The Paris journalists immediately began their labors, and the well intentioned but vague assurances of Monsieur de Lamartine were not convincing. Were not Ledru-Rollin and others of a more lurid political hue members of the same Provisional Government? These gentlemen were using a different language from the calm, studied words of the poet statesmen. And their utterances seemed to tell as time went on. In March, 1848, two radical emissaries of the new republic arrived in Belgium. They hobnobbed with men who were known for their "principes démagogiques" in Brussels, and they even went so far as to distribute a printed apologia for the cause of a general revolution. Other propagandists soon followed them, students from the École Polytechnique, of revolutionary fame, at Paris, crossed the frontier, and, finally, a troop of Belgian radicals who had flocked to the Republican fête in the French capital, set out from that city and, in seventeen companies, threatened to invade their native country and to establish there "the glorious revolu-

tion". But the danger from France was not the only preoccupation that the February Days brought to an anxious government at Brussels.

The Netherlands had never forgotten the loss of Belgium, and, following the outbreak in Paris, the Belgian agent at the Hague announced to his unhappy government that Dutch emissaries had been sent into Flanders to stir up the population to revolt. In addition, the Dutch were arming and their troops were being concentrated at the border. It is uncertain that these reports were well founded, but the fact remains that ever watchful Palmerston and Prussia both took it upon themselves to remonstrate with the Dutch representatives in their respective countries. At the same time, however, there were other causes for alarm. The general upheaval that followed February, 1848, threatened to raise again the perplexing problem of Luxembourg, and, too, there was the awkward question of a recognition of the revolutionary parliament at Frankfurt.

These two volumes are worthy successors of Monsieur de Ridder's earlier study of the diplomatic history of the treaty of April, 1839. In fact, they are not narrative history at all, but a *dossier diplomatique* that contains the correspondence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur de Hoffschmidt, with his agents in Paris, London, the Hague, Berlin, and Vienna. These despatches are preceded by a remarkably lucid and lively summary of the situation, from the Belgian point of view, between February 27 and December 20 of the year of revolutions. As such, they form a valuable and necessary addition to the fund of source-material for a study of the mid-nineteenth-century upheaval in Western Europe. There is, however, one criticism that may be made, and that is a matter of arrangement. The communications from the various diplomatic agents are, of course, arranged in chronological order. Would it not have been well to have carried this arrangement farther and to have placed all of the communications that passed between the Foreign Office and each ministry together? This method would have facilitated the use of the *dossiers* for investigators who will undoubtedly refer to them.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Edited by G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., F.B.A., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D., F.B.A., with the assistance of MISS LILLIAN M. PENSON, Ph.D. Volume IV., the *Anglo-Russian Rapprochement, 1903-1907*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1929. Pp. lii, 656. 12 s. 6 d.)

THIS instalment of the invaluable British documents on pre-war diplomacy is in some respects even more interesting than those already published. It deals with subjects about which less has been hitherto known in detail. It opens with the Dogger Bank episode and other irritating incidents arising between Great Britain and Russia as a result of the Russo-Japanese War. Rodjestvenski's firing upon the Hull fisher-

men was denounced in a minute by King Edward VII. as "a most dastardly outrage" (p. 6). British naval vessels were ordered to concentrate at Gibraltar, and a British fleet, cleared for action, shadowed the Russian vessels at a distance of five miles, until wise diplomacy put an end to a dangerous tension which might easily have exploded into an Anglo-Russian fight (pp. 1-40).

The question of the opening of the Straits of the Dardanelles to Russian war-vessels was raised by the Russians sending out a "volunteer fleet", nominally unarmed merchantmen, which were later converted into regular naval vessels. Lord Lansdowne declared in April, 1904, that if Russia attempted to send her Black Sea Fleet through the Straits, Great Britain could not acquiesce in any such step, but "would be driven to meet it by adequate measures which might render a collision inevitable" (p. 50). Later, however, in 1906-1907, his successor, Sir Edward Grey, several times intimated that Great Britain might be ready to modify her traditional policy and the treaty stipulations closing the Straits. But he did not care to raise the question; it was for Russia to raise it if she so desired. This is worth noting, because one gets from Viscount Grey's *Twenty-five Years* the impression that the Straits Question was not discussed in connection with the negotiations for the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. It may also well explain why Izvolski, that general scape-goat, whom it is now so much the fashion to blame for everything, may have been encouraged to think that he would get a favorable answer when he came to England after the bargain with Aehrenthal at Buchlau in September, 1908. But, as is well known, he was destined to grievous disappointment, because in 1908 Grey was not willing to open the Straits to Russian warships, unless they were also opened to the war-vessels of the other Powers.

The central theme of the documents in this volume is the rapprochement between Great Britain and Russia which resulted in the Convention of 1907. The initiative and the greater eagerness came on the whole from the side of the British. They had found that the Anglo-French Entente worked well, and desired a similar clearing up of causes of misunderstanding with Russia. The first steps were taken by England in 1903, but were interrupted by the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. King Edward VII. did as much as anyone to revive them. He talked with Izvolski on the subject at Copenhagen in April, 1904 (p. 188 ff.); and the negotiations were soon taken up more definitely by Sir Charles Hardinge at St. Petersburg. Hardinge's analysis of Russian conditions and diplomacy show him to have been a diplomat of unusual insight, wisdom, and tact, and justify the great confidence placed in him by Edward VII.; on his despatches the king often made such comments as: "An admirable and most interesting despatch"; "A most important conversation"; "A very satisfactory communication" (pp. 28, 67, 196). In October, 1906, when Izvolski happened to be in Paris, Edward VII. sent him a personal invitation to visit England. But Izvolski declined, giving several good reasons, including his fear of

offending Germany and the reactionaries in Russia and his lack of definiteness as yet concerning his future policy. M. Clemenceau insinuated that the Germans had prevented Izvolski's visit to England at this time, at which King Edward observed "Germany is certain to act against us—behind our back" (p. 245).

The final negotiations for the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 were conducted, not by Hardinge, but by Sir Arthur Nicolson. He also showed much skill in pressing the English desires, but not in pressing them so strenuously as to frighten or antagonize the Russians who were somewhat in a state of nerves from defeat by Japan and from revolution at home. In these concluding negotiations, which involved innumerable matters of detail in regard to Tibet, Persia, and Afghanistan, King Edward was apparently much less consulted than in the earlier stages when he had exercised such influence in giving a new general direction to Anglo-Russian relations. About half the volume—the last three hundred pages—describes successively in great detail how the conflicting interests of Great Britain and Russia in these three regions of the Middle East were either smoothed out or compromised. Persia was a much more difficult subject than Tibet or Afghanistan, especially the questions relating to Seistan and to the Persian Gulf. The idea of separate British and Russian "spheres of influence" in Persia, with an intermediate neutral (and mostly barren, desert) sphere, went back to a proconsular despatch of Lord Curzon in 1899. The editors have wisely reprinted a considerable part of this important and characteristically acute and grandiloquent document. Curzon's idea at first met with much opposition among English ministers and military men, both because it seemed likely to bring about a partition of Persia, and because it was doubted whether Persia would keep any agreement in good faith. The idea was also strongly opposed by the militarists and reactionaries in Russia who did not want to see any written barrier set to Russia's steam-roller progress toward India and the Persian Gulf. But Grey adopted the idea of a division of Persia into spheres of influence, analogous to certain settlements in China, as the least of evils. Izvolski on his side was able to prevail with Nicholas II. over the opposition of the Russian militarists and anti-English elements. The Anglo-Russian Convention completed Great Britain's diplomatic evolution from splendid isolation to Triple Entente membership. It gave rise to interesting situations to be described in the forthcoming and eagerly-awaited volumes of this rich mine of diplomatic material.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

State and Sovereignty in Modern Germany. By RUPERT EMERSON.
(New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xiv, 282.
\$3.50.)

DR. EMERSON'S book is a study in political theory and not in political history. It shows not how state and sovereignty developed in modern

Germany but rather how German jurists have dealt with those concepts. "The appearance of the Imperial German Constitution of 1871", Dr. Emerson points out, "marked the beginning of a new school of jurisprudence in Germany. The era of natural law which preceded the French Revolution found its antithesis in the era of positive law which followed the founding of the North German Confederation and the proclamation of the Empire five years later" (p. 47). The method of this school—"an analysis of a new and evolving body of public law in terms primarily of inherited concepts" (p. 126)—involved a certain sterility of positive results. More vital was the work of the school of the "Genossenschaft", at the head of which stood Gierke and Preuss. This school "broke with the old on two essential points: in the first place it sought to build from the bottom up instead of from the top down; and in the second, in part as a consequence from the first, it sought to break away from the Roman and Romanistic conception of an exclusive antithesis between individual and State" (p. 129). During the early years of the twentieth century, there began "a marked and significant return in German jurisprudence to the circle of ideas which had characterized the beginning of the nineteenth. Materialism and empiricism began to give way to the assaults of idealism and philosophic criticism. . . . With the rallying cry of 'Back to Kant' and 'Back to Hegel' whole new schools sprang up in opposition to the era of positivistic materialism that had lasted for more than half a century" (p. 155). "The philosophic movement was at once a flight from law which had ceased to embody social and political reality, and an attempt to lay the foundations for a reevaluation and reshaping of law. As a flight it meant merely a recognition that it was temporarily, at least, more fruitful to seek after the philosophic implications of law in general than to waste time in the detailed analysis of a public law which bore only the most distant relation to the political facts. As a constructive and creative movement, its significance was much greater. It ignored the monarchical principle, it shattered the basis of the notion that law was essentially the command of a sovereign power, and it reintroduced the theory that the ultimate test of law must be a value-judgment" (p. 210 f.).

In preparing and making the revolution, the jurists had little share. The necessity of making a new constitution did, however, bring them down from the clouds. At the Weimar Assembly, there was little discussion of sovereignty. No one could dispute that the sovereignty had passed from the crowned heads to the people of Germany. There were some important discussions of federalism. But the most significant work of the Weimar Assembly dealt with the machinery of democratic government. The problem of "councils" (Räte) for functional representation was the chief bone of contention.

Students of modern Germany, who have, for the most part, neither the training nor the time to struggle through the maze of German juristic speculation, will find Dr. Emerson's book of real value. It presents with remarkable clarity, an important phase of German intellectual life. Not

least worthy of comment is the felicity with which all but the most untranslatable German terms have been rendered into English.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations since the Peace Settlement. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Professor of International History in the University of London. (London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 126. 7 s. 6 d.)

EXCELLENT work has been done in recent years on the transformation of the British Empire into the British Commonwealth of Nations. In addition to the reports of the successive imperial conferences and Jebb's two-volume history based on the proceedings of these novel constitutional conventions in empire-building, we have H. Duncan Hall's *The British Commonwealth of Nations* (1920), brought down to 1927 by the pamphlet in collaboration with President Lowell; Walter Phelps Hall's *Empire to Commonwealth* (1928); Arthur Berriedale Keith's *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* (1916); Alfred Zimmern's *The Third British Empire* (1927), and C. H. Currey's *British Colonial Policy, 1783-1915* (1916), not to mention others. To these must now be added Professor Toynbee's scholarly study of the *Control of Foreign Affairs* in the British Empire since the war, published as a separate volume of the *Survey of International Affairs for 1926*.

In selecting this particular phase of the evolution of the British Empire into the British Commonwealth of Nations, the author attacks the heart of the question of the constitutional status of the dominions, for the real test of sovereign status will always be the control and direction of foreign affairs. Applying this touchstone, he finds himself in entire accord with the opinion voiced by the Imperial Conference of 1926, that "the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions . . . are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs . . . subject to no compulsion whatever".

The study confines itself chiefly to the constitutional phases of the subject as they develop around five major problems: citizenship; passive *versus* active belligerency in a war engaged in by Great Britain; membership in the League of Nations; separate diplomatic and consular representation of the commonwealths; and finally the joint conduct of foreign relations or coöperation in the management of international affairs between states, members of the Commonwealth. By tracing the history of each of these questions since the war, the author presents a convincing story of the evolution of the commonwealths into "Dominion Status" within the "chrysalis of the Empire". At the same time he stresses the idea that the British Empire remains a unit in both municipal and international law, "a single state in its relations to foreign

countries". The paradox is difficult to explain. It arises out of the complex character of the British Empire, which, "considered as a whole, defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organization, which now exists or has ever yet been tried". The two theories are tenable only if there is perfect accord between the dominions and Great Britain, or if the latter continues to be the "nerve centre" in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Fortunately no serious divergence of interests and viewpoints has developed since the Imperial Conference pronounced the doctrine that the complete sovereignty of the commonwealths had not only been established empirically but recognized *de jure*. The problem of maintaining unity with this diversity led to the plan in 1924 for the joint conduct of foreign affairs. (Cf. *Correspondence* p. 75 ff.) As a result the new system of direct communication between His Majesty's government in Great Britain and the dominions, without the intervention of the governor general, was inaugurated.

The significance of this in bringing the government of the Empire more into line with the principles of representative government is evident. Curiously enough, however, the author pays no attention to this problem as it relates to the conduct of foreign affairs in Great Britain itself. In theory this important function of government is still a prerogative of the Crown, while in practice it rests with the Foreign Office and the Foreign Secretary. Parliament has not yet succeeded in establishing direct control. Even the modest demand for a permanent committee of Parliament on foreign affairs was rejected despite the fact that Parliament and all but a few members of the cabinet were quite ignorant of the true state of Great Britain's foreign relations before the World War. Manifestly Lord Bryce's statement, that "the adjustment of relations between the executive and legislature in the conduct of foreign affairs has been one of the most difficult and indeed insoluble problems of practical politics" holds, even in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Both Great Britain and the dominions still have to reckon with this Achilles' heel of democracy, and no study of the conduct of British Empire foreign relations is adequate without at least some consideration of the question of parliamentary responsibility.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

Les Échelles de Syrie et de Palestine au XVIII^e Siècle. Par FRANÇOIS CHARLES-ROUX. [Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, tome X.] (Paris: Geuthner. 1928. Pp. 224 and 27 plates. 150 fr.)

THIS is the tenth volume of a notable series of archaeological and historical studies published under the auspices of the French High Commission in Syria and the Lebanon. With documents from the historical archives of the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles and from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Charles-Roux has written a very

circumstantial and objective account of the French commercial communities in Syria and Palestine from 1715 to 1793. The book is a well-planned and carefully constructed study of definite value to the specialist. The more general reader may perhaps regret that Mr. Charles-Roux has not furnished in the form of an introduction a more comprehensive background for his detailed picture of the French communities of the eighteenth century.

The opening chapter describes the state of affairs in 1715 with particular reference to the nature of the trade, the organization of the communities, and the direction exercised over them from Paris by the Minister of Marine and from Marseilles by the Chamber of Commerce. The constant solicitude of the home authorities and the meticulously detailed character of the regulations under which the business of the communities was carried on are interestingly set forth. These French merchants of the eighteenth century, indeed, were more officials engaged in business of the state than subjects of the king carrying on trade for their personal profit. Succeeding chapters deal with the life of the communities and describe in detail the relations of the French merchants with their consuls and with each other as well as with natives and strangers. It was the duty of the French ambassador at the Porte to see that the authority of the consuls was respected by the merchants, but much was expected of the consuls themselves. Apparently even in the eighteenth century consular reports were not always up to the required standard, for Mr. Charles-Roux refers to a reprimand addressed in no uncertain terms to a consul whose reports contained insufficient data of a statistical character. The missionaries were also a source of no little trouble and anxiety. The consul at Aleppo in 1716 had, it seems, experienced some difficulty in keeping within bounds the competition of Jesuits, Capuchins, and Carmelites. He reports to his government his apprehensions lest the zeal and "the pious jealousy" of these missionaries give offense to the new Pasha. The French ambassadors in 1768 and 1783 even received instructions pointing out the dangers to be apprehended from the indiscreet proselytizing of the missionaries. But the preparation of reports and the preaching of discretion to missionaries were by no means the only activities of the consul. The matter of presents for the local Turkish authorities was always delicate and with the relaxation of the authority of the Porte in the second half of the eighteenth century became extremely vexatious. Then too the Turkish authorities were forever finding pretexts for levying fines upon the French communities. The frequent piratical exploits of the Order of Malta along the Syrian coast furnished many such pretexts since the Turks insisted upon considering Malta as a possession of the King of France.

In the latter part of the book Mr. Charles-Roux records the decline of the French communities in Syria and Palestine. The causes are not far to seek. The strength of Turkey was being dissipated by wars with Russia—the first from 1768 to 1774 and again from 1787 to 1792. These wars were the signal for the attempt of Ali Bey, a mameluke of Cairo,

to expel the Turks from Syria and Palestine and furnished the opportunity for Ali Bey's conqueror, Djezzar Pasha, to set himself up as an almost independent ruler and to flout the authority of the Porte, especially when exerted as a result of repeated and emphatic representations of the French ambassador. The French communities fared disastrously during this period of warfare and disturbance. Communities rigidly organized and disciplined were especially vulnerable at such times and any initiative by individual merchants was looked upon with extreme disfavor by the French authorities. The French Revolution and the resulting temporary collapse of French political influence at Constantinople marked the end of the French commercial communities in the Levant in their peculiar eighteenth-century form.

In the annexes which Mr. Charles-Roux has added to the text of his book there is much material, sometimes of a documentary character, on such matters of detail as the origin of French consulates in the Levant, competition among the various French communities, the relations of Aleppo with the interior of Asia, etc. Of special interest is the third annex which gives an excellent account of the provisions of French legislation concerning the communities in the Levant.

The book is handsomely illustrated.

Cambridge History of India. Volume III., Turks and Afghans.

Edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London. (Cambridge: the University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 752, and 51 plates. 42 s.)

STUDENTS of Islam as well as students of Indian history will welcome the appearance of this book, which is one of two volumes of the series which will deal with Muslim rule in India. Not since the appearance, many years ago, of Mr. Edward Thomas's so-called *Pathan Kings of Delhi* has such a careful, comprehensive, and scholarly study of this period of Indian history been made.

In general the volume deals with the subject of Muhammadan rule in India from the time of the earliest Arab invasion of Sindh in 711 to the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty at the battle of Pānīpat, and the establishment of the Mughul dynasty by Bābur in 1526. However, in the case of the independent Muslim kingdoms, the history is followed to their annexation by Akbar, and in the case of the kingdom of the Deccan to the capture of Ahmadnagar in 1600 by Sultān Dāniyāl, Akbar's third son.

The exhaustive study of this period, as presented, naturally falls into five main divisions. Chapter I. deals with the Arab conquest of Sindh, which, politically speaking, was little more than a minor episode in the history of the peninsula, though Islamic influences were established there which

have prevailed even from that distant date of the eighth century. Chapters II. to IX. treat of the Ghaznavid conquest and ensuing dynasties whose rule centred in Delhi. This is really the heart of the book. With great labor and skill Sir Wolseley Haig has brought together from the original Persian sources a clear and connected story of the events which took place from the coming of Mahmūd in 1001 to the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodī by Bābur before Pānīpat in 1526. Chapters X. to XVII. take up the history of the scattered Muslim kingdoms of Jaunpūr, Bengāl, Kashmīr, Gujarāt, Khāndesh, Mālwa, and the Deccan, and the vicissitudes through which they passed until they were finally annexed to the Mughul Empire. In this section all of the chapters were written by the editor with the exception of chapter XIII. on Gujarāt and Khāndesh, which was prepared by Professor Sir E. Denison Ross.

The fourth division which comprises chapters XVIII. to XXII. traces the separate histories of the various Hindu states in southern and northern India from the year 1000 to the founding of the Mughul Empire, and in addition one chapter each is devoted to Burma and Ceylon. Three different writers, each a specialist in his own field, in addition to the editor, contribute to this section, which is in a sense subsidiary to the main thesis of the volume, but which at the same time obviously could not be omitted. Chapter XXIII. brings the history to a close with a most valuable critical study of the monuments of Muslim India by Dr. Sir John Marshall, Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India. This chapter, which is one of the most fascinating in the book, is amply and fittingly illustrated by the 51 plates which appear at the end of the volume. The development of Indo-Islamic art, as expressed in the architecture chiefly of mosques and tombs, is fully set forth, and the writer shows how the strength of Islam and the delicate grace of the Hindu workman have come to grow together in designs of stone and marble.

After reading this last chapter one wishes that the editor had also included a chapter on the Muslim literature of the period, and still another on the spread and establishment of Islam as a religion. From the occasional references to religious matters the casual reader is left to infer that the Muslims in India were only interested in the political domination of the country; but surely, if we read the history of this period aright, even the thought of political domination included the idea and purpose of Islamizing the country in religion as well as in politics so far as possible. It is a curious rendering of the term *kāfir* as applied to Hindus to call them *misbelievers* instead of *unbelievers* as is usually done.

The technical student will find the book well furnished with useful helps. The table of contents is an exceedingly good analysis of the book. The bibliographies are as complete as they well could be, and the titles are arranged chapterwise. Besides, the original sources are classified separately from the modern works. There is a detailed chronology, which would have been more useful had it been divided according

to dynasties. This chronology is supplemented, however, by dynastic lists and genealogical tables. There are seven maps to illustrate different periods *in loco*, and also a modern map of the Indian Empire and Ceylon.

The index is quite complete, but owing to the great difficulty involved in handling foreign words some slips have occurred to which attention should be directed, *e.g.*, both Budaun and Badaun are used as the spelling for the same place, but are indexed separately. Likewise *Carmathian* and *Karmatian* are found indexed separately though they refer to the same sect. In the same way we have Fatehpur Sikri and Fathpūr Sikri. Also, differences are sometimes noted between the text and the index, *e.g.*, the text has Walīd and the index Wālid; the text has Balban but the index Bālban. In both places the text is correct, and the index wrong.

The system of transliteration of Arabic words is that used by the government of India, and consequently does not conform strictly to the mode usually adopted by scholars. In a book on Indian history it is perhaps best to use the Indianized forms, though it does seem that the form Shī'ah is preferable to Shiah. On the other hand we are indebted to the editor for correcting the spelling of some words to make them more accurate such as Mughul for Mughal, and the name of the founder of the Lodi dynasty Buhlul for Bahlol.

Where everything is so good one does not like to point out small defects. After all, it is more than probable that this volume will stand for years to come as the premier authority in English on this first period of Muslim rule in India. It will, no doubt, have its critics, but so far it has no rivals.

MURRAY T. TITUS.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by ALLEN JOHNSON.

Volume I., Abbe-Barrymore; volume II., Barroti-Brazer. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1928-1929. Pp. xii, 660; x, 613. \$250.00 for the complete set.)

No adventure in collaborative scholarship has ever been more richly justified by its results than the *Dictionary of American Biography*, two volumes of which are now off the press. In 1922 the recently organized American Council of Learned Societies appointed a committee to consider the feasibility of preparing a comprehensive and authoritative reference work of American biography. The committee felt no doubt as to the need and devised a plan which seemed impracticable only because of the large expense entailed. But when the project was laid before Adolph S. Ochs, publisher and chief owner of the *New York Times*, he agreed on behalf of his company to advance "more than \$500,000" to defray the cost of producing the manuscript. To carry out the undertaking a committee of management was appointed, consisting of J. Franklin Jameson as chairman, John H. Finley, Allen

Johnson, Frederic L. Paxson, Mrs. Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, Carl Van Doren, and Charles Warren; and in February, 1926, editorial offices were opened in Washington under Allen Johnson as editor-in-chief, assisted by a staff made up of Harris E. Starr, Ernest S. Bates, George H. Genzmer, and H. W. Howard Knott, Frank Monaghan later being added.

The selection of Dr. Allen Johnson to the chief editorial post was a happy one from many points of view. Widely and favorably known as a critical historical scholar and as a teacher of history, he had only recently completed the colossal task of planning and supervising the fifty-volume *Chronicles of America*, a coöperative work broadly conceived, attractively written, and enlisting the talents of scholars in a variety of fields. This central organization was, of course, only the hub of a wheel of coöperation, the spokes of which stretched out to all parts of the country and to nearly every field of human interest and activity. The first volume represents the collaboration of 296 individuals while 291 joined to produce the second one. The format of the work is worthy of its substance, and the tale of coöperation would not be complete without a word of acknowledgment to the publishers, who undertook their part not as a commercial venture but as an enterprise in the public interest. In its completed form the *DAB*, as we are already beginning to shorten it, will comprise twenty volumes and embrace approximately sixteen thousand biographies.

Except for its title, which is the same as that of Francis S. Drake's compilation (Boston, 1872), the *Dictionary of American Biography* is patterned on the *Dictionary of National Biography* rather than on any of its American predecessors. As in the British publication, the articles are marked by authoritativeness and literary excellence; the alphabetical arrangement is adhered to; and each contribution is accompanied by a short bibliographical statement of the main authorities, primary and secondary. Perhaps even greater care has been taken by the American editor to secure specialists for the various assignments. At least this is suggested by the fact that the 505 articles of the initial volume of the British *Dictionary* were furnished by 87 individuals, while the 671 sketches in the corresponding volume of the American work came from the pens of 296 contributors.

Whenever possible, the memoirs have been intrusted to scholars who had already produced full-length biographies of their subjects, as in the case of Eugene C. Barker's "Stephen Fuller Austin" and M. A. DeWolfe Howe's "George Bancroft", or to persons known to be engaged in such enterprises, as in the case of Nathaniel W. Stephenson's "Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich". In other instances the task has been assigned to some one particularly familiar with the period or phase of American history related to the biography. In the two volumes before us Dr. Johnson has attained a high degree of success in his aim "to secure fresh independent accounts . . . and not mere compilations of preceding authorities" (I. viii). A notable example is Randolph G. Adams's "Benedict Arnold",

which contains important new evidence in regard to Arnold's treason, drawn from the Papers of the British Headquarters under Sir Henry Clinton, now at the W. L. Clements Library. Another is Arthur H. Quinn's "George Henry Boker", based in part on manuscripts in the possession of Princeton University. In many instances memoirs appear of men and women whose names have never been included in similar compilations.

It was in itself a stupendous feat to sift the countless aspirants for immortality in a country where the winnowing process of history has had so short a time to operate. The editor tells us that earlier works of reference were consulted, but that these were concerned mainly with the lives of conspicuous soldiers, statesmen, and clergymen. "The modern age with its greater complexity and dependence upon new arts and sciences has brought into view less spectacular, and possibly less heroic, but certainly not less significant, figures" (I. viii), and, he might have added, has caused us to see the entire past of America in a different and clearer perspective. Almost any series of names will illustrate the results of this generous hospitality; for example, that of the Angells, consisting of George Thordike, humanitarian reformer; Israel, Revolutionary soldier; James Burrill, diplomat and university president; Joseph Kinnicutt, legal writer; and William Gorham, manufacturer of screws and inventor. In striking out along these lines Dr. Johnson was again acting in the tradition of the British *Dictionary*, whose editors boasted that "No sphere of activity has been consciously overlooked", even "Malefactors whose crimes excite a permanent interest have received hardly less attention than benefactors". In actual performance, however, the selections of the American *Dictionary* seem to be made in a more democratic spirit and to range more widely over the manifold interests of the past. Not until the second volume do notorious criminals make their appearance: Sam Bass, the train robber, standing cheek by jowl with an Episcopalian bishop and a college president; and Billy the Kid, frontier desperado and killer, rubbing elbows with a hymnologist and the founder of a Pietistic community.

For purposes of biographical inclusion the term "American" has, fortunately, been broadly construed. The *Dictionary* embraces discoverers, explorers, missionaries, colonial officials, and colonists, whose activities were from earliest times concerned with any part of the present continental area of the United States, including Alaska. It also takes in foreign-born persons who identified themselves with this country whether as naturalized citizens or otherwise. On the other hand, no living names are incorporated, though such notices as those of our late historical colleagues, Clarence W. Alvord, John Spencer Bassett (who was a contributor to the first volume), and Albert J. Beveridge, will serve to give many a poignant sense of the contemporaneity of a number of the memoirs. A roll call of the members of this new American peerage, as revealed by the two published volumes, yields some interesting results. The 42 Adamases find their traditional eminence contested by an equal

number of Allens, who, however, are disposed of in about half as much space. Other surnames which rank high in numerical importance are: Abbot and Abbott, 21 entries; Andrews, 21; Baldwin, 19; Baker, 18; Anderson and Bradford, 16; and Alexander, Ames, and Bell, 15 each.

In so elaborate a work the sins of omission are difficult to appraise. A comparison with the death notices in *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia* (New York, 1862-1903) yields 323 names not mentioned in volume I. of the present work, and 355 not included in volume II. The Adamases might thus have recruited 17 to their number, the Allens 14, the Abbotts and the Andrewses 6 each, the Baldwins 13, the Bakers 20, the Andersons 10, the Bradfords 3, the Alexanders 7, and the Ameses and Bells 4 each. While doubtless most of these names are well forgotten, the reviewer would have tried to find places for Robert O. Abbott (1824-1867), army surgeon; Jonathan Adams (1798-1872), civil engineer; Ann Reeve Aldrich (1866-1892), author; Adna Anderson (1827-1889), civil engineer; Larz Anderson (1805-1878), capitalist and philanthropist; James H. Armsby (1809-1875), physician and educator; Charlotte A. Astor (1825-1887), philanthropist and charity worker; William O. Ayres (1817-1887), physician and ichthyologist; George M. Baker (1832-1890), dramatist and novelist; William B. Baker (1832-1886), painter; Joseph Banigan (1839-1898), manufacturer and philanthropist; Charles M. Barras (1826-1873), playwright; Washington Bartlett (1824-1887), journalist and governor; Charlotte Fiske Bates (1838-1890), poet and editor; Clara Doty Bates (1838-1895), writer of juvenile books; Joseph Battin (1807-1893), civil engineer and inventor; Nehemiah S. Bean (1818-1896), inventor of fire-fighting apparatus; Albrecht Becher (1821-1892), mechanical engineer; George C. Beckwith (1800-1870), peace advocate; Gunning S. Bedford (1806-1870), medical writer; Abraham J. Berry (1801-1865), physician and surgeon; Hammatt Billings (d. 1874), architect; J. A. Blankingship (1859-1893), sculptor; Lorin Blodget (1823-1901), climatologist and statistician; Albert Bobbett (1813-1888), wood engraver; James Bogle (1817-1873), painter; and Charles B. Boyle (1827-1892), inventor and artist. Another unexpected omission is the name of Erastus Beadle, the dime-novel publisher. Very surprising is the small number of women admitted to the new national galaxy. The first volume contains the names of but 24, and the second of but 36, in all 60 out of a total number of 1357 sketches. On the other hand, probably little would have been lost by leaving out the biography of Anna Warren Bailey, heroine of an incident in the War of 1812, who is remembered for having contributed her flannel petticoat as wadding for cartridges.

Persons disposed to view the *Dictionary of American Biography* as a catalogue of obituaries, useful for reference but otherwise lacking in interest, will find a delightful surprise awaiting them on consulting the work. Nearly all the articles are written with crispness and clarity, and many are marked by a style both colorful and distinguished. Some will be remembered for their spice of humor, notably those dealing with Alvey Augustus Ade, Amos Bronson Alcott, Washington Allston, George

Alsop, Robert Bell, and William Billings. One contributor allowed himself to call Jenny Lind "a sort of 'America's sweetheart' two generations ahead of Mary Pickford" (I. 638), but ephemeral allusions of this sort are chiefly notable for their absence. All in all, the volumes form a heartening demonstration that dullness need not be an occupational taint of exact scholarship.

Partly because of the manner of presentation, the subjects dealt with usually become real persons, not mere lay figures. The effect is heightened by relating them to the times in which they lived and by stating, when possible, the chief personal and social factors which conditioned their lives: ancestry, geographic origin, racial stock, birth order, religion, education, economic status. Personal descriptions are ordinarily included also. The writers do not hesitate to express critical judgments, but their mood is sympathetic rather than iconoclastic or dogmatic. There is, moreover, none of the catch-penny biographical treatment, garnished with superficial psychological conjecture, which has marred so much "popular" biography in recent years. It is invidious to single out sketches for special mention, but among the more noteworthy are those by Worthington C. Ford on the Adamses (Charles Francis the elder, Charles Francis the younger, John and John Quincy), Allen Johnson's "Henry Brooks Adams", Carl Becker's "Samuel Adams", N. W. Stephenson's "Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich" and (in collaboration with H. W. Howard Knott) "Judah Philip Benjamin", Jeannette P. Nichols's "William Boyd Allison", Samuel Eliot Morison's "Fisher Ames" and "William Bradford", Samuel Williston's "James Barr Ames", Jesse S. Reeves's "James Burrill Angell", Randolph G. Adams's "Benedict Arnold", F. M. O'Brien's "Moses Yale Beach", and Allan Nevins's articles on the two James Gordon Bennetts and the three Samuel Bowleses.

A careful reading of these volumes will greatly enrich the knowledge of even the most erudite scholar. It is American civilization, rather than American history in any narrow sense, that is mirrored in the lives of the men and women treated. For a people supposed to be engrossed in a breathless pursuit of the Almighty Dollar, the *Dictionary* reveals an amazing record of intellectual, artistic, and humanitarian activity. Nearly every biography illustrates the infinite possibilities of American life for the youth of ambition and ability. By studying these individual instances one can appreciate, more vividly than from the statistical summaries of the United States census, the ceaseless flow of population from one part of the country to another and the experimental attitude of the American toward the choice of a life career. As seen in this succession of cases *Homo Americanus* has always moved freely in a horizontal direction over the land and has shifted with almost equal facility from one occupational or social level to another. It is also shown that though the American is a jack-of-all-trades he may become the master of one. Thus Hezekiah Augur, who is listed as "sculptor", was successively carpenter, grocer, apothecary, drygoods merchant, inventor of an artificial leg, and maker of a carving machine. Edwin H. P. Arden sampled

such occupations as mining, ranching, railroading, clerking, and reporting before he won distinction as "actor, manager, playwright". These are typical rather than exceptional instances. An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the state of higher education by the fact that as late as 1852 James B. Angell was offered by President Wayland his choice of two chairs at Brown, either of civil engineering or of modern languages; fourteen years later, as president of the University of Vermont, he took over all the instruction not otherwise provided for in the curriculum: rhetoric, history, German, and international law.

Students of immigrant influences in American life will find rich material for study and appraisal; sectional contributions lend themselves to a similar examination (see, for example, S. E. Morison's review of volume I. in the *New England Quarterly* for April, 1929). Sociologists, biologists, geneticists, and genealogists will all find much to interest them. Not of least importance is the opportunity afforded graduate students to obtain fruitful suggestions for doctoral dissertations. Not only do the volumes make it evident that many significant personages await adequate biographies, but subjects of a different kind are suggested by the interests of the people written about. To cite only one instance, the *Dictionary* supplies the initial material for a study of the early history of philanthropy in America.

In so extensive a work errors are bound to creep in notwithstanding the best intentions of the contributors and the vigilance of the editorial staff "maintained at the Library of Congress to verify names, dates and titles" (I. viii). Probably the sharpest critic of the work would be the editor-in-chief himself, who doubtless would cordially indorse the Concord Sage's sentiment, inscribed in his *Journals*: "I often think I could write a criticism on Emerson that would hit the white." The two volumes are remarkably free from typographical slips, though some were noticed, including the common error of misplacing the apostrophe in the titles, *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia* and *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. More serious are some misstatements of fact. The assertion that Edward Atkinson "encouraged the development of the Southern cotton-manufacturing industry" (I. 407) is wholly untrue; his efforts to discourage it created widespread indignation among Southerners in the 1880's. The statement that President Roosevelt "launched his program of conservation in 1908" (I. 555) places the date seven years late; on the same page the year 1900 for the hearings of the Nelson Senate committee is evidently a mistake for 1910. As Don C. Seitz has pointed out elsewhere, Lawson Valentine was never an associate editor of the *Outlook* (I. 25), but a chief stockholder of the magazine. Nathaniel Bowditch never made a trip to Madagascar (II. 496), and it is misleading to speak of his "five" voyages (p. 496, repeated on p. 498) when in his own journals he describes them as four. The period during which the Baring Brothers were not the fiscal agents of the United States (II. 52) should be extended beyond the Van Buren administration to the summer of 1843. Thomas Hart Benton is discussed without once using the

term, graduation. The assertion in the same article that "the 49th parallel" was "the boundary secured" by the United States in the partition of Oregon (II. 212) is inexact; other statements by the same contributor are equally careless. In the sketch of John Wilkes Booth the statement that certain of his accomplices were "pardoned by President Johnson on Mar. 21, 1869" (II. 451) is mistaken either as to the date or as to the president. The year 1846, given as the date of the establishment of the Louisiana state board of health (II. 493), should be 1855, though under the present acceptance of the term even this body should not be classed with the average state board since it was created for the sole purpose of maintaining a quarantine for the protection of New Orleans. The assertion that James G. Blaine was "the most prominent of American statesmen to receive their training from" journalism (II. 323) leaves out of account Benjamin Franklin. The statement that the *Lily*, founded by Mrs. Bloomer in 1849, was "possibly the first paper of any kind published by a woman" (II. 385) reveals an ignorance of the activity of colonial widows as newspaper proprietors (*cf.*, *e.g.*, the reference to Cornelia Bradford, II. 553) and of the even greater enterprise of Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale and other "editresses" in the 1830's and '40's. It is the reviewer's belief that the following errors as to dates have been made: Charles Augustus Aiken was born on Oct. 30, not Oct. 20, 1827; Moses Y. Beach on Jan. 7, not Jan. 15, 1800; August Belmont on Dec. 8, not Dec. 2, 1816; Jacob Bigelow in 1787, not 1786; and Philemon Bliss in 1814, not 1813; while Horatio Allen died on Dec. 31, 1889, not Jan. 1, 1890; John F. Allen on Oct. 4, not Oct. 2, 1900; and William A. Barstow on Dec. 14, not Dec. 13, 1865. The birth dates of Jacob Ammen and John Jay Almy seem also to be erroneous. The memoir of Nicholas Biddle is silent as to the Second Bank's adroitness in placing newspaper editors and members of Congress under financial obligations. In the sketch of August Belmont his most important political service, that of serving as chairman of the Democratic national committee, is omitted. John A. Bingham's greatest service to the nation and the world, as minister to Japan after 1873, is dismissed by his biographer as "twelve uneventful years" of his life (II. 277).

The reviewer questions the wisdom of following the practice, adopted by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, of signing contributions with initials. The arrangement at best is awkward and time-consuming for the reader, involving the constant turning of pages to refer to the list of names at the front of the volume; indeed, it seems to be of advantage to no one. While no change in this respect can be expected in later volumes, it is at least hoped that the list of contributors prefixed to each volume will hereafter include identifying marks to indicate the competence of each writer for the task assigned him. In a few cases in volume II. (pp. 41, 245, 428) even the authors' initials have been left out. The usefulness of the bibliographies would be enhanced if more attention were paid to the non-documentary remains of the man's work. This

is usually done in the case of painters, sculptors, architects, and civil engineers, but hardly ever for inventors.

These are, at the most, surface blemishes on a monumental and memorable work. Just as the *British Dictionary* has become a national institution, so it seems safe to predict that its American counterpart will become an indispensable reference work for all students of American life and letters and of interest as well to intelligent laymen. The appearance of the forthcoming volumes will be eagerly awaited by the public.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

The Rise and Fall of New France. By GEORGE M. WRONG. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, x, 925. \$10.50.)

THIS fascinating work is admirably adapted to stimulate interest in Canadian history and to serve as a guide to further reading in that field. It is based on sound scholarship, but does not display the paraphernalia of research which usually act as deterrents to the lay reader. In nearly nine hundred pages there are but thirteen foot-notes. To this negative appeal must be added the positive ones of an interesting narrative and an attractive style.

Paper, type, binding, all add to the readableness and attractiveness of the book. There are nine small maps of such items as the first voyage of Columbus, the siege of Quebec, and the like; also a large map of eastern North America. Clear and well executed, these suffice for the reader who is fairly familiar with the geography of Canadian history. For others, however, a few more large maps would increase the interest and value of the book.

To offset the absence of foot-notes, bibliographies are supplied (at the ends of the volumes) for each chapter. These are well selected, and consist chiefly of original sources. When secondary authorities are cited they are of such metal as Parkman, Garneau, Munro, Lavis. The various items in each bibliography are carefully evaluated by the author. The index is good, but not absolutely satisfactory.

The proof-reading is well done, only a few slips catching the eye. The following errors of fact are probably also mere mistakes in proof-reading: Vera Cruz was not founded in 1518, but in 1519 (p. 36); De Soto did not reach the Mississippi "near Mobile" (an impossibility) but near *Memphis* (p. 76); New Orleans was not founded in 1717, but in 1718 (p. 477).

Turning from these trivial imperfections to the merits of the book, it is evident from the first paragraph that it is a work of sound scholarship, based upon years of patient research, wide reading and mature thought. Even the bare narrative is no mere paraphrase of a tale others have told. The facts have been pondered and interpreted until the story flows easily from the author's own mind, supported, to be sure, by con-

temporary witnesses. It is *Wrong's* story of the rise and fall of New France, not Parkman's, not Garneau's, not Champlain's, not Charlevoix's, nor Wolfe's—though all these have contributed their share.

After a brief but adequate summary of the Asiatic and medieval background of discovery, the reader is brought with the Norse and Spanish pioneers to America, and is made to realize the conditions and motives which occasioned their coming. The English and French claims to North America are clearly set forth, followed by a stirring account of Drake's exploits, with the Elizabethan influences behind them. Other early chapters contain studies of Indian life, the Catholic revival in France, the Church in Canada, feudalism in the Canadian village. Here, as throughout the book, clear and careful accounts of conditions in Europe—especially France and England—affecting the course of Canadian history, are woven into the narrative, easily and naturally.

The first volume closes with the death of La Salle and the founding of Louisiana, while the second volume opens with a graphic account of the first general struggle between New France and New England, at the end of the seventeenth century. Such outstanding figures as Frontenac and Phips are treated with rare discrimination. Their faults and virtues are clearly revealed and full justice is done to their positive contributions to their respective sides. Here, as elsewhere, there is neither fulsome hero-worship nor petty disparagement. Rather, a kindly, tolerant, well-informed hand is delineating real 'humans', without any prejudice due to the subject's nationality. This fair-mindedness is one of the great charms of the book. The reader may occasionally dissent from Dr. Wrong's interpretations of fact, but he never feels that events are being suppressed or twisted to suit a preconceived theory or to reflect a personal prejudice.

The narrative moves steadily, clearly, vividly, on through the War of the Spanish Succession, "the drama of Hudson Bay", the corruption in old and new France under Louis XV., the mid-century wars, French penetration to the prairie country, until we reach the eve of the final struggle. Nearly two-fifths of the second volume is devoted to the study of this crucial epoch. Such a controversial subject as the expulsion of the Acadians is treated fully, clearly, sympathetically, but without recrimination. The fair-minded reader must agree with the author that "The Acadians were victims of high politics. . . . Left alone they would have been a contented people, happy in their obscurity" (pp. 773-774).

Equally fair and penetrating are the studies of the personalities and achievements of the two great protagonists, Montcalm and Wolfe—and the difficulties with which they had to contend.

A fine example of the author's happy, light touch is the following: "We get a glimpse of some of the cares involved in paternal government when we find the great minister Pontchartrain asked to decide on the merits of a quarrel about a cow straying into a garden; about a brawl at the church door, with the priest in his robes as mediator; about the

price of a canoe; and about the virtue of a certain lady" (p. 566). Professor Wrong's keen insight is revealed in this passage "It is the fate of most despotisms to rot at the top. French leaders and French policy had been futile; but France's enemies have too often made the mistake of ignoring the unquenchable vitality of her people" (p. 875). Nowhere is the author dogmatic. Rather the reader feels that he is being led through a fascinating field of study by a sympathetic fellow-student who is a most competent guide.

The book ends with a very brief contrast between the futile last governor, the younger Vaudreuil, and Champlain, the founder and capable first governor of New France—who died "in the belief that he had founded an empire". And so he had: not the political empire of which he had dreamed but the cultural one which makes the French strain so important a factor in Canada today. One closes the book with a mingling of regret that he has finished it, and of gratitude to the author for a worthy task worthily accomplished.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

The Constitutional Development of Jamaica, 1660-1729. By AGNES M. WHITSON, M.A. Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. LII. (Manchester: the University Press. 1929. Pp. xiv, 182. 12 s. 6 d.)

THE peculiar importance of West Indian constitutional history lies in the fact that, except for Virginia, all the English royal colonies at the Restoration and for over twenty years thereafter were in the West Indies and it was there that England initiated the policy of strengthening royal authority in the interest of centralized efficiency at the expense of colonial autonomy.

To hasten settlement Jamaica was granted in 1661 a government like that of Barbados and Virginia: a royally appointed governor, a nominated council, an elected assembly, and judges commissioned by the governor. On the ground that Jamaica was a conquest the Crown long refused to acknowledge the automatic extension to Jamaica of English statutes and common-law rights. When finally, in 1729, this was acknowledged it was by deliberate grant of the Crown in consideration of a permanent revenue voted by Jamaica. From the first, however, the assembly, under the courageous leadership of Samuel Long, claimed and acted upon the assumption that for Jamaica it possessed every privilege and power which the House of Commons enjoyed in England. It claimed and exercised the sole right to discipline and administer oaths to its members, to levy taxes for limited periods, to appoint collectors, to define appropriations, to control disbursements, and even to divert royal revenues from quit rents, fines, and escheats to local uses. Governors, Privy Council committees, and law officers of the Crown were long perplexed with such invasions of royal prerogative for which legislative disallowances and emphatic instructions afforded no cure. At

length, in 1677, the Privy Council approved a "New Model" of colonial government recommended by the Lords of Trade wherein the Crown itself could change the form of government in a conquered colony. The island should grant a permanent revenue and be governed under the principles of Poyning's law for Ireland. It was decided that no law could be signed by the governor until it was first approved by the king; the assembly was denied the right of appropriation, and the governor was empowered to suspend any councillor without the council's consent. The Lords of Trade framed a set of model laws for which Governor Lord Carlisle was to obtain Jamaica's confirmation. The assembly repudiated the laws and the new constitutional system. Revenues had to be continued by proclamation. Carlisle, sympathizing with Jamaica, recommended a return to colonial autonomy. After conferences with Long and other planters in London looking to a permanent revenue, the Lords of Trade finally accepted failure and restored Jamaica to its former constitution because the law officers could not find legal support for the "New Model" and distance alone made the system unworkable. Through honesty, tact, and good-will, Governor Lynch in 1682 secured from the assembly the twenty-one years' revenue act wherein the assembly was allowed to appropriate a sum for forts and to examine public accounts. This act was renewed in 1703 for another twenty-one years.

Finally in 1728-1729 the constitutional issue was compromised by Jamaica's grant of a permanent revenue of £8000 on condition that "all such laws, and statutes of England as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received, as laws of this Island shall, and are hereby declared to be and continue laws . . . of Jamaica for ever". This was the Magna Carta of Jamaica and the "first victory for the constitutional principle, that the privilege of self-government, once granted by the Crown, is irrevocable". Miss Whitson did not attempt an exhaustive constitutional history, but her monograph, based on a close study of calendars and manuscripts of colonial office papers, constitutes a real contribution to an understanding of the development of imperial relations.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies.

August, 1714-December, 1715. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1928. Pp. xlviii, 435. £1 7s. 6d.)

THE years 1714 and 1715, the greater part of which are dealt with in this, the latest volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, brought in their train many new problems for solution by the authorities in England. The close of the war with France, the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, the death of Queen Anne, and the rise of the Whigs to power—all contributed their quota of issues to be met both in England and America. Tory and Jacobite sympathizers were turned out of

office and a careful watch was kept on Jacobite activities, particularly in the West Indies (sect. 715). An entire change was made in the personnel of the Board of Trade, the new members of which entered on their duties with considerable energy and with a desire to increase their own usefulness and dispose effectively of the large amount of unfinished business handed on by their immediate predecessors (sects. 223, 359). They may have been influenced by the anonymous criticism which Secretary Stanhope placed before them, to the effect that "There have bin [*sic*] many persons at severall times past put into that Commission for different reasons then [*sic*] their abillity, and therefore it has not hitherto produced such effects as might have been expected from it" (sect. 236, i); or they may have come to feel that it was necessary to know something about the colonies and to use their knowledge with despatch, if they were to justify their appointments. However that may be, the new board was certainly well intentioned and started off with rather unusual zeal, demanding necessary information from the secretary of state (sects. 352, 368, p. 222); reminding various persons of the need of haste in sending in replies to their queries (sects. 285, 619); calling for more and better maps of America (sects. 518, 575); promising to answer governors' letters more promptly (sects. 359, 477) and requiring from the governors in turn readier and fuller returns (sect. 477)—in general, formulating their policy with rather more definiteness and intelligence than usual (sects. 582, 592).

Governor, general, and roving commissioner Francis Nicholson, our one professional colonial office-holder, whose irrascibility and hot temper appear to his discredit in this volume, was now recalled and an end put to that mysterious mission upon which he was sent by Bolingbroke in 1712, seemingly for High Church and Tory propaganda purposes. As before, we get many glimpses of his zeal for the cause, and of the projection by him and others of party and partizan animosities into the colonies, notably in New York, New Jersey, and the West Indies. More conspicuous still are the early indications of that rivalry with France—which became more intense as years passed—in matters of sea-power, colonial defense, relations with the Indians, sugar production and markets, the fishing interests of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, and the race for new territory. Fears were already aroused lest France should be planning an "encircling movement", in order to erect a "Universal Power" in America as well as in Europe (p. 116), and to drive the English settlements from the continental area. To meet this situation George Vaughan of New Hampshire urged the board to show a greater regard for the protection of the colonies, and proposed in the interest of unity and strength, the giving of a "Generall Name" to the colonies as a whole and the calling, every three years, of a general congress of governors to consult for the good of all the settlements, under the presidency of a commissioner sent from England, instructed to make regular reports to the Board of Trade (sect. 389)—a truly remarkable proposal.

The menacing situation, thus revealed, and the unhappy conditions prevailing in the Carolinas and the Bahamas, which were harassed by Indians and pirates, drew renewed attention to the failure of proprietary rule and led to the third attempt—that of 1715—to regulate and royalize all the proprietary and corporate governments. The Board of Trade made the recommendation to the Privy Council and the secretary of state, but though it drafted a bill for that purpose and had it introduced into Parliament, the property interests were too powerful and the fear of the Crown too great and the measure was finally lost in committee. It is a remarkable fact, as the editor, Mr. Headlam, points out, that the board should have reported favorably on the restoration of the Maryland proprietary in March, 1715, and in the August following should have drafted a bill to undo, in part at least, what it had already recommended. The period is certainly one of conflicting cross-currents.

The volume as a whole is unusually full of valuable information relating to all the colonies, but I must leave the student to discover what this information is for himself. The material will well repay thorough and careful scrutiny. Mr. Headlam has performed his editorial task with his customary skill and insight. He continues to use "Council of Trade" and "Board of Trade" indiscriminately, which I can not but feel is confusing and unnecessary; and he does not make it clear which of Hunter's and Spotswood's letters are printed and which are not. There are some very interesting Hunter letters here that are not in the Brodhead collection. Mr. Headlam leaves the impression that Burges was actually a governor of Massachusetts and Vesey actually a bishop's commissary in New York, neither of which impressions is correct; and on page xxi he says that the "Lords of H. M. Cabinet Council" was the Privy Council, which it surely was not. To his list of "Corrigenda" I would add "Hudson Bay" for "Hudson's Bay", "Weiser" for "Weizer", "Banister" for "Bannister", "No. 2" for "No. 12" (p. ix, line 5), "271, i" for "271, viii" (p. ix, line 17), "port" for "part" (p. xi, line 32), and would suggest that "Cornbury" rather than "Clarendon" should be used in referring to the scapegrace governor of New York.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833.

By LOWELL J. RAGATZ, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in George Washington University. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company, 1928. Pp. xiv, 520. \$5.00.)

THIS book, published by means of the Revolving Fund contributed to the American Historical Association by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, is an expansion of the author's doctoral dissertation which won the Justin Winsor prize of the Association in 1926. It is an exhaustive and valuable study of an important subject never before adequately

treated as a whole. A number of the chapters are built almost entirely upon new material. The thoroughness with which Dr. Ragatz treats all ramifications of his subject is rather unusual; he does not dispose of obscure matters secondary to the main theme by mere allusion when explanation is needed for an understanding of the whole.

All of the British West Indian islands are considered in the work, except the Bahamas, which had problems of their own and came little into contact with the other British Caribbean territories; and the once-Dutch colonies of Berbice and Demerara on the mainland are also included because of their close economic relationship with the neighboring British islands.

The book consists of two parts, the one, which is brief and introductory, dealing with the old plantation system, and the other, including most of the volume, concerning itself with the decline of the sugar islands. The chapter headings, which are as follows, indicate the main topics considered: I., Caribbean Society in the Eighteenth Century; II., Tropical American Agriculture; III., West India Commercial Relations; IV., Development of the Ceded Islands; V., the Sugar Colonies during the American Revolution; VI., the New Era of Restricted Mainland Trade; VII., the Insular Possessions in the French War; VIII., the Abolition Movement; IX., the Agrarian Distress in the Old Caribbean Holdings; X., the West India Question; XI., the Registration Controversy; XII., the Overthrow of the Tropical Labor Régime.

Scattered through the work are twenty-three statistical charts which add to the clarity of the text, as does also the double-page map of the West Indies and Central America at the front of the book. The index is of the sort that the reader gratefully consults, since it serves the purpose for which indexes are supposed to exist: there is no jungle of mere numbers placed under large general headings, but for each page reference a contents item is given. The long critical bibliography indicates that the author ranged far in search of material, and gives the impression that he used all of the important manuscript sources as well as the printed ones.

Dr. Ragatz shows that the British Caribbean planters had reached the height of their prosperity before 1763, but that this prosperity—which was marked by really vast fortunes—was not fairly won, as it was based upon the monopoly of supplying the mother country and the British-American mainland with tropical products. Enormous profits were made under an absentee system in a most casual manner by primitive and wasteful methods.

The first serious blow which struck these favored planters was the competition coming from the islands ceded by France in the Peace of Paris of 1763. To this new British territory went many humble folk from the older British holdings in the Caribbean and there worked virgin soil secured at low rates, and were free from a tariff which they had paid in the other islands. Perhaps more of a handicap to the British

Caribbean planters were the restrictions placed upon trade with the American mainland after the independence of the Thirteen Colonies.

The revolution in the rich French colony of Saint-Domingue, combined with the wars of the French Revolution, gave the British islanders a temporary advantage again, and prices were fairly good for a few years. But that was a mere accidental aftermath, and really serious distress began in 1799. This was partly due to the increasing competition in the production of sugar and other tropical commodities created by Brazil and Oriental lands and also by territories acquired by Great Britain in the wars of the period. At about the same time appeared a new handicap in the form of higher prices charged for slaves, due to the abolition of the traffic in bondmen brought from Africa. The long series of wars beginning in 1776 were, on the whole, the cause of much loss and suffering, due to embargoes and seizures and to devastations caused by hostile armies. Lack of food supplies during the American Revolution alone caused the deaths of thousands of negro slaves in the British islands. By the close of the first third of the nineteenth century the British Caribbean plantations had reached a chronic condition of decline and decay. Hence, the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, which had been fiercely fought by the planters, merely struck the last blow at the few surviving remnants of British West Indian prosperity.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Life and Labor in the Old South. By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, Professor of American History in the University of Michigan. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1929. Pp. xix, 375. \$4.00.)

It is now more than a generation since the Southern area of the United States, its people, and their institutions, came to be the subject of research and interpretation by technical historical scholars. Monographs, periodical articles, and books treating special topics in Southern development have come, and continue to come, in increasing number from the press. Until now, however, no scholar has attempted a synthesis or comprehensive survey of Southern development in its entirety. As the preface of Professor Phillips's book carries the information that this volume is to be followed by others, every thoughtful reader must raise a number of questions concerning its contents—such as the extent to which the author is bound by tradition or guided by critical scholarship, matters of proportion and emphasis, of inclusion and exclusion, and the relation of labor and modes of life to a people's unconscious purpose or ideal.

To the first of these questions the answer is unequivocal; realism rather than romanticism, actuality instead of tradition, is the dominating motive throughout. Illustrative are these comments on colonial Virginia: "For many years indentured servants comprised the main bulk of immigration to Virginia, and to Maryland and Pennsylvania as well. The

personnel of course was mostly of the lower class in society, though the middle class had many representatives, and occasionally gentlemen would indenture themselves or their children, whether from impoverishment or to gain apprenticeship in colonial industry" (p. 23). "In consequence, any community depending upon indentured labor must needs create as a by-product a mass of plain folk with little or no pretention of polish to form the bulk of the population" (p. 24). "But what of the F.F.V.'s? Did the Carters, Burwells and Randolphs, the Pages, Nelsons and Braxtons, the Fitzhughs, Wythes, Washingtons, and Lees derive from noble English houses through gentlemen always living in elegance and maintaining lofty standards? If so, the records of the seventeenth century are at fault" (p. 26).

Indeed, the only Southern traditions regarding antebellum days perpetuated are that a spirit of humanity characterized the institution of slavery and that there was a distinct cleavage in social feeling between the "Tuckahoes" and "Cohees" of Virginia and between similar groups elsewhere.

While every page reflects the mind of the historical scholar, the book is not, strictly speaking, historical in the sense that the essence of history is to trace the growth of men's ways of life and thought. Instead the author's objective is a description, tintured in every chapter with the spirit of historical criticism, of resources, people, and work. Throughout economic forces and their attendant social phenomena give tone and color to the book. Thus climate and soil are the subject of the opening chapter; then, after a description of the dominant factors in colonization and the westward migrations (chs. II.-V.), the full swing is reached in ten chapters which treat of the great staples, slavery and slave labor, typical plantations in Virginia, the Southeast and the Southwest, and the overseers. Here in a rich panorama one derives impressions rather than definite technical information regarding the cultivation of cotton, sugar, rice, indigo, tobacco and wheat. However, the inquisitive reader must note with some regret that no contribution is made to the ancient and doubtless imponderable question of the relative wealth and income of agricultural enterprises in slave and free areas, nor to the tantalizing economic interpretation of slave labor; also that more space is not given to the improvement in agricultural methods during the generation prior to 1860. However, the book is addressed to the general reader rather than the scholar; and nowhere can such a reader find so delightful a reconstruction of the antebellum plantation régime. Indeed, for scholars and all those who live in the Southern area the information regarding specific plantations is sufficient to make the volume essential for general reference.

While actuality rather than legend or theory is always stressed, the life and labor of the non-slave holders, comprising six of the eight million white population in 1860, is given but one distinctive chapter (XVII.). This would be warranted if all non-slave holders were small farmers who left very few records of their economic life. But such

was not the case, for there were certain enterprises which, though often operated by slaveholders, were distinct in nature from plantations and did not depend on slave labor. Such were cotton factories, woollen and grain mills, and mining operations. These are not described, nor is there any discussion of merchandizing, banking, or plantation credit. Yet these are the businesses most prosperous in the South of today; what of their antecedents in the Old South? Finally, the life of a people, in the historic sense, includes an ideal, a purpose; what was the dominant economic ideal of the planters, and was it identical with those of the manufacturers, the merchants, and the bankers? These matters, however, may be reserved for a future volume.

There are limitations to all works of human endeavor; and every book of lasting value must be an expression of the author's dominant interest. As such *Life and Labor in the Old South* is unique in that it brings into the compass of a single volume an unusual amount of descriptive information. A number of illustrations, including cabins, mansions, plantation maps, and an economic map of the South in 1860, aid in visualizing the antebellum scene.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

America's Ambassadors to England, 1785-1929: a Narrative of American Diplomatic Relations. By BECKLES WILLSON. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1929. Pp. xiv, 497. \$5.00.)

To many an American politician or lawyer endowed with ambition and a vision sufficiently broad to take into his thought something besides the domestic issues of his country, a foreign appointment marks occasionally the goal of his career. Sometimes a business man wins a similar goal. And among our representatives at the Court of St. James there have been rather more than half-a-dozen appointees whose chief distinction prior to their diplomatic services has been confined to the realm of literature or journalism. This threefold classification will readily appear to any reader of this latest volume by Colonel Beckles Willson. The author, Canadian by birth, reveals familiarity with an extensive list of writings of varying merit, most of them by American historians, biographers, and diarists of repute. He has scanned, especially in the earlier portions of the narrative, instructions and despatches in the London Embassy under the custody until recently of Ambassador Alanson B. Houghton. Abounding in rather well-authenticated gossip, the volume should meet nevertheless something more than a popular demand, for it contains information concerning some thirty-eight personalities and problems, big and little, relating to Anglo-American affairs from the days of John Adams to the present year. In the words of the author, the story presents, "in all its significant fluctuations, the life of a relationship, racial, political, intellectual, moral and social, altogether without parallel in history".

Of the thirty-eight men sent to England over nearly one hundred and fifty years, nine became secretaries of state, and five presidents—facts sufficient to mark the care of their selection (especially in the earlier years) and in general the acknowledged ability of several of the more notable appointees. Five acted also as American diplomats in Paris, and three or four others elsewhere in Europe. But among them all, it may be noted, there was no single professional diplomat in the European sense (*diplomat de carrière*). Two men were sent twice at different periods to London, Rufus King of New York and Louis McLane of Delaware and (later) of Maryland. Rightly enough the author includes in the series Gouverneur Morris who went to London (1789–1792) from Paris as President Washington's personal agent, and John Jay who was in London in 1794 on an extraordinary mission while Thomas Pinckney acted as our first regular minister (1792–1796) under the Constitution. Selections, including Ambassador Dawes, have been confined thus far to thirteen states and the District of Columbia: Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania have provided twenty-two men in the group; Ohio, Vermont, Minnesota, and Illinois are the only states not on the Atlantic seaboard from which appointments to London have been made. The larger number were men fifty years of age or over before they were considered for the mission; but Morris and Richard Rush began their respective services at thirty-seven; the oldest incumbents of the post in taking office were Reverdy Johnson and John Welsh, aged seventy-two. On his refusal to resign early in the Grant administration John Lothrop Motley was dismissed. While Colonel Willson has aided in clearing up this situation (pp. 342–357), nevertheless for a more enlightening explanation of this singular case the student of diplomacy should not overlook Mr. E. P. Oberholtzer's use in this connection of Benjamin Moran's contemporary diary (*A History of the United States since the Civil War*, II., 439–446).

Apart from sketches of personalities the narrative presents the larger problems of Anglo-American diplomacy with sufficient clarity to give to the story continuity and development. The reader will readily grasp significant phases of the controversy over impressment and the right of search which dragged along for many years; he will discover a fair presentation of the inception and intermittent interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine; of the work of Charles Francis Adams in London and later at the Geneva arbitration; of the troublesome issues over such subjects as the fisheries, the Panama Canal, and (in slighter measure) the Great War. Many of the minor features of diplomatic life are touched upon, such, for examples, as matters of diplomatic dress, salaries, and housing for our legation. The author has rescued from almost complete obscurity the career of a minor official, Aaron Vail (pp. 200–212, *passim*); and in the reviewer's judgment he has overemphasized the importance of the career of Whitelaw Reid (pp. x, 428 ff.). It may be doubted if any man in the long list of American ministers in London has done a greater service for both countries at a critical epoch than

was done by Charles Francis Adams: since his day our relations with Great Britain have become closer and better understood largely through his courage and extraordinary discernment. Too many petty errors mar the text: dates are careless (pp. 49, 128, 185, 193, 278, 419, 441); Buchanan was not "a widower" (p. 288), and Sir George Downing was not "a native American" (p. 426).

As an afterthought (preface, pp. v, ix), Colonel Willson concludes that our ministers at London acted in crucial moments towards current phenomena "precisely as Englishmen of their temperament, education and station would have done and not at all as aliens would do . . . the English *ethos* informs and governs". This as a generalization sounds interesting. Observing, however, that our representatives were instructed under principles based on our system of constitutional government, and that they were inevitably influenced by a variety of factors—political, social, and economic—peculiar to the United States, one can hardly accept easily any such generalization. A British viewpoint in clear antithesis to this has recently been expressed by the Archbishop of York when on a commemorative occasion at Pickering in Yorkshire he asserted that "the United States have become as completely distinct a nation, and as different from us, as any of the nations of Europe is. They have developed traditions, principles and associations of their own which are not the same as ours, and we must learn not to be distressed when they turn out to be different from us in their outlook and desires. . .".

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

The Pageant of America. Volume VII., *In Defense of Liberty*, by WILLIAM WOOD and RALPH HENRY GABRIEL; volume IX., *Makers of a New Nation*, by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT; volume X., *American Idealism*, by LUTHER A. WEIGLE. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. 370, 344, 356.)

OF the fifteen volumes constituting the *Pageant of America*, twelve have now been published. The general plan has been discussed in previous reviews (vols. XXXII. 326-328, XXXIII. 663-664, 918-919). *In Defense of Liberty* is a pictorial epic of three wars—the Civil, Spanish, and World War. Eight chapters are devoted to the first, two to the second, and six to the third. There is also one chapter on the Boxer Expedition. The Civil War is pictured from Bull Run to Appomattox, East and West, with special attention to the great battles and leaders in both the army and navy. There are also many pictures illustrating such aspects of the war as enlistment, draft, riots, and desertion. One conspicuous omission is the absence of pictures of prison life. Andersonville and Libby prisons, for example, are not mentioned in the index.

The two chapters on the Spanish War and that on the Boxer Expedition are brief but satisfactory. Chapters XII. to XVII. depict the World War under the titles, America Enters the World War, the Spirit of the Army, Organization and Supply of A. E. F., the Crisis of 1918, Fighters of the Sea and Air, St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.

It is possible to call attention to only a few of the many interesting pictures with admirable textual comment. Here are portraits of the important leaders and also submarines, torpedoes, destroyers, shipping, and convoys. The army is illustrated by pictures on enlistment, with posters, cartoons, and training camps. There are illustrations of nearly all aspects of warfare in the air, on land and sea. Some thrilling accounts are given in the text, such as "Chivalry of the Air" and "Lost Battalion".

Volume X., *American Idealism*, portrays religion and education in American life; the Spanish and French missionaries, Pilgrims and Puritans, Church of England, Growth of Religious Freedom, Churches in the Revolution, Development of Free Churches, Religion on the Frontier, Elementary and Secondary Schools, and Colleges and Universities. Many phases of religious life are depicted, such as the religious motive for colonization, Christianization of the Indians, by love, force, and torture, Jesuit missionaries, persecution of and by the Puritans, religious laws, facsimiles of the title-pages of religious books, persecutions for witchcraft, portraits of religious leaders, churches, exteriors and interiors, methods of punishing religious offenses, the ducking stool, stocks, whipping at the cart-tail, pillory, and hanging (p. 69). The chapter on religious freedom treats of the Presbyterians, Quakers, Lutherans, and other sects; of John Wesley and George Whitefield and the Great Awakening. In the chapter on the churches in the Revolution, the question of the Anglican episcopate is illustrated and also the Catholics in the Revolution. In the free churches, we find illustrations pertaining to atheism, Methodism, the circuit rider, camp meetings, abolition and religion, the temperance movement, spiritualism, Christian Science, negro religious life, the Sunday school, the chatauqua, fundamentalism and evolution. Religion on the frontier considers revivals in the West, the Shakers, communistic religious societies, and the Mormons. There are pictures of Puritan, Dutch, Catholic, and private schools, facsimiles of the title-pages of school-books of academies and district schools. Many portraits of educational leaders are also given. The colleges and universities are similarly treated.

In the *Makers of a New Nation* there is first an essay on the political folk-ways of industrial America. The chapter-headings are Lincoln and the Imperiled Union, Reconstruction of the Union, Readjustment under Grant, Hayes and the Spoilsmen, Political and Economic Reform under Cleveland, New Politics under Harrison, Democratic Revolt under Cleveland, 1893-1897, McKinley and the War with Spain, Roosevelt and Political Reform, Taft's Efforts to Obtain Harmony, Wilson and Domestic Issues, World War Politics and Reconstruction.

The pictures in this volume are unusually interesting and informing. Many of the actors in the Civil War period and later are shown both in portraits and in cartoons, especially Lincoln. Other pictures illustrate international relations, emancipation, political factions, and elections. In Reconstruction we see the negro as a voter and legislator, and the

amendments relating to the negro. There are pictures of riots, impeachment of Johnson, Ku-Klux-Klan, Grant and the politicians, spoils system, of Greeley and the South, and the money question. Other topics illustrated in later chapters are the electoral commission, civil service, tariff, pensions, reciprocity, silver question, strikes, the Bryan campaign, the war with Spain, Philippines, Roosevelt policies, domestic and foreign, trusts and "Big Business", conservation, Wilson's policies, domestic and foreign, the World War, and the Peace Conference.

There is little that can be said, except in praise, of this monumental work. Within its limitations, commented on in previous reviews, it stands in a class by itself. It can only be repeated that not only will students profit by a perusal of the work, but professors of American history of long standing can ill afford to neglect a careful study of the pages of every volume.

MARCUS WILSON JERNEGAN.

Andrew Johnson: a Study in Courage. By LLOYD PAUL STRYKER.
(New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 881. \$6.00.)

It is a pity that as well intentioned a book as this should not have been written in a less excitable vein. We are all prepared to listen sympathetically to a rehearing of the case for Andrew Johnson. But the court in which it must be argued is a critical court, not a popular forum, and the advocate who takes a partizan tone puts himself at a disadvantage. Mr. Stryker is a frank apologist for Johnson. He scolds the Radicals of that day with all the force of what appears to be a rather impulsive and oratorical temperament.

In having no partiality for the Congressional Reconstructionists, Mr. Stryker is in pretty good company today. But he does not appreciate how far the reaction against them has gone. It involves their political manner no less than their political policy. When he picks up their tone and lards his pages with vindictive adjectives he moves himself backward into a chapter of American historiography which, fortunately, is closed. We are through with the sort of writing that raves at enemies, that describes Stanton as "a double crossing underhanded sneak"; that sees in the face of Stevens "the horrid fascination that comes from gazing into the cold visage of a snake"; that says one must have a "strong palate for snobbery", to enjoy Rhodes on Johnson; that sneers at Lowell as a mere dilettante "surrounded by the English poets detached from all the conflict", because of his article on Johnson's "swing around the circle".

Mr. Stryker does not seem to perceive his opportunities as a biographer. To the disinterested student who wants to form exact estimates, a detailed recapitulation of congressional history, however well done, is beside the mark. Nor is it enough to laud Johnson as the faithful continuator of Lincoln's policy. If he was that and no more he was an echo, not a statesman. Three questions contain the cruxes for his biog-

rapher: did Johnson in truth continue Lincoln's policy or did he have one of his own? was he class conscious in his attitude toward his own section? was his character such that it interfered with his success?

Mr. Stryker rings the changes on Johnson as the continuator of Lincoln. He makes no attempt to explain away the obstacle to this view. In 1863, war-time conditions prevailed and Lincoln in his proclamation "restoring" Louisiana, did something for which no legal, peace-time authority existed. Would the same act, after war had ceased, have the same significance? Furthermore, how are we to explain that detail in Johnson's scheme which is not paralleled in Lincoln's—the provision that no one owning property in excess of \$20,000 should participate in Reconstruction without a special pardon. What a curious idea—assuming that it had no purpose!—the idea that the amount of property one owned determined whether one had committed treason or not. What a challenge to the biographer! Mr. Stryker ignores it.

The three crucial questions interweave. Mr. Stryker sees clearly enough the purpose of Johnson's enemies, their determination to control a new "Republican" party, and to secure its position by not letting in a South that should be Democratic. But what of their guess that Johnson was playing a somewhat similar game, that in the reshaping of parties he would go back to his former Democratic allegiance and build a new Democracy with himself at the head of it and the South as part of its backbone. Mr. Stryker has nothing to say on the subject. For him Johnson is always the high-minded patriot concerned only with truth and justice, never with party shrewdness.

Finally, there is the problem of his temperament. Did he defeat himself? That his enemies were skillful propagandists, lying in wait for him, grossly unfair—who doubts? But did he rashly play into their hands? Take the famous speech-making tour, the "swing around the circle" which inspired Lowell's essay; take Mr. Stryker's own account of that strange episode, especially the two speeches at Cleveland and at St. Louis which were paraded before the country as proof of his incapacity for his office. Dismissing all the grosser charges against him, what of these intemperate addresses as evidence of fitness or unfitness for political leadership?

Mr. Stryker, as always, holds a brief for him. Johnson's lack of control over his tongue, his restless derisiveness, his egoism are things that Mr. Stryker fails to account for. He is content to say that Johnson had made his mark by furious and emotional methods in a community where politics dealt in primitive terms. But what of that! He was being heckled by a city mob, the last word for cruel astuteness. He was not equal to the occasion. It is within possibility that the feeling against him, craftily worked up on the basis of his speeches, turned the scale and ruined his cause. It would have been so much better if Mr. Stryker had dealt with all this as a careful student and not as an angry partizan.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

James Ford Rhodes: American Historian. By M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1929. Pp. 376. \$3.50.)

SUBTITLES of biographies oftentimes suggest that such a book may be considered as the study of a type; perhaps, then, Mr. Howe intended his *James Ford Rhodes* to be accepted as a typical "American Historian". In this day of multiplied universities with thousands of people continually studying history in order to present it in the class-room it is natural that the great preponderance of historical writing should come from that academic source as well. But our most widely read historical works, in times past, were not from teachers' pens, as the names of Bancroft, Prescott, Parkman, Motley, Irving, Lea, readily suggest. Compare the authors invited to contribute to the Winsor's *History* and the *American Statesmen* and *Commonwealth* series, on the one hand, with those in the *American Nation* series on the other, and one will notice that the change took place in the 'nineties. Mr. Rhodes, a wealthy gentleman making history his business rather than a business out of history, was typical of the old day when research professorships, foundation grants, great public libraries, and photostat facilities had not yet eased the way of the poor historian. It was a day when the enormous disproportion between effort and income in historical writing, it was thought, could be faced only by personal wealth. "Aha!", answered Carl Schurz to a youth who confessed a passion for Clio, "you are adopting an aristocratic profession, one which requires a rent-roll." The "unattached" historians, of course, have never disappeared, and they are likely to become more numerous; with the general growth of wealth in America increasing numbers are perplexed rather early in life with the problem of leisure; many of those such, who have a proper intellectual capacity, might take Mr. Rhodes as a model. "A man's worst difficulties", as he himself quoted Huxley, "begin when he is able to do as he likes."

But history, with him, was not a sudden refuge of a tired business man; it was absorbed and cultivated from the first. One watches the ironmaster toiling over articles for a trade journal largely to perfect his literary style or "stealing time from Rhodes and Co." in the Cleveland Public Library, as one might watch a cocoon at the time when its life within begins to realize a higher destiny. His education was irregular but extraordinarily successful. From his account of a schoolmaster who fired to white heat the boys' interest in the current transactions of the Civil War, of the brilliant class-room dissertations of Professor B. N. Martin, who taught history in New York University, and of the inspiring guidance of a rhetoric professor in the old University of Chicago—Rhodes's collegiate experience was confined to a year in each of these two institutions—the reader might conclude that education in mid-century United States was nearly perfect, until he realizes that to a mind of such driving purpose, teachers had only to guide. He was really self-educated. Study at home and abroad developed a strong grasp

on French and German, though he thought himself deficient in the classics. He gave much time to great books throughout his life; Shakespeare and Homer he loved as friendly gods. "One evening in 1877, while reading Hildreth's 'History of the United States,' I laid down my book and said to myself, why should I not write a History of the United States?"—a somewhat equivocal testimony as to Hildreth's power. Thus at the age of twenty-nine his purpose was finally focussed; the next eight years until his "retirement", were devoted to producing the necessary financial basis for a career as a historian. He considered that fifteen years of business life had lost him much knowledge of books, but given him much knowledge of men.

Having composed his first two volumes, in 1891 he removed to Cambridge, the proper environment for literature, and soon afterward to Boston which was to be his home until his death in 1927. He was now a full-fledged man of letters. But after this dramatic transit the action of his life is less interesting than before. Like most other "standard historians", no matter how allured, he did not let himself be deflected from the steady labor of his great project, unless one mentions his favorite diversion, good dinner-table conversation. His genial manner, big booming voice, his real delight in hearing other people ride their hobbies made that inevitable. It was of him, it seems, that John Hay said: "No man can be a great historian who is not a good fellow."

The aspiring student who takes up this book to find out how to be a great historian may be disappointed. Mr. Howe properly refrains from paraphrasing Rhodes's own *Historical Essays*, where so much is said on technique. Yet one wishes he had analyzed the great *History* a little more at length; to hear it speak for itself one must listen so long. How does Rhodes build up a narrative, climaxes, digressions, proportion, portraiture, etc.? How does his treatment of a given episode compare with that of Von Holst? with Schouler? with more recent writers? One gets more on such matters from a quoted letter from Lord Charnwood than from Mr. Howe's own narrative. The book is not a critique on Rhodes's *History*, yet one does learn something of the historian's method. Rhodes apparently made but moderate use of research assistants; E. G. Bourne, H. E. Bourne, and D. M. Matteson are mentioned at some length, but as the last named says, "Whatever went into the melting-pot, the gold that came out—and it was gold—was all Rhodes." Candidates for the Ph.D. may well remark his attention to style. After five hours of composition, he was accustomed to read three hours of noble prose for the benefit of contact with good form.

Mr. Howe is not a psycho-analytical biographer. He writes of Rhodes as he appeared to men and not to God. There is the influence of New England heritage and Western freedom, of an Episcopal mother and a deist father, a Republican school and a Democratic home—then translation to the temples of the Brahmins, not immediately penetrated. The author has to help him, besides his personal acquaintance with the subject, a short autobiography running up to 1891, an "index rerum" as the

historian called his commonplace book in four volumes, five "dinner-books" wherein he chronicled the wine lists as well as scraps of conversation at his own and other tables, and many letters; in fact, the last half of the book is made up chiefly of these letters from Mr. Rhodes, which the biographer, apparently, had to find and acquire, for their writer kept almost no copies. He wrote well to his friends and one can trace in the letters the changing political views of a manufacturer who became a low tariff man, a great admirer of Roosevelt who voted later for Wilson. There is valuable comment on public characters at close hand, on Rockefeller, Hay, Lodge, and others, and records of other people's conversation, especially that of the ebullient Roosevelt.

It is a quiet book with few memorable passages to quote, but written with an even sympathy and fairness, a rather brief discussion of an American historian, but a pleasant revelation of an American gentleman.

DIXON RYAN FOX.

The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy. Edited by SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. Volume IX., *John Sherman*, by LOUIS MARTIN SEARS; *William Rufus Day*, by LESTER B. SHIPPEE and ROYAL B. WAY; *John Hay*, by A. L. P. DENNIS; *Elihu Root* and *Robert Bacon*, by JAMES BROWN SCOTT; *Philander C. Knox*, by HERBERT F. WRIGHT. Volume X., *William Jennings Bryan*; *Robert Lansing*, by JULIUS W. PRATT; *Bainbridge Colby*, by JOHN SPARGO; *Charles Evans Hughes*, by CHARLES CHENEY HYDE. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1929. Pp. x, 428; x, 484. \$4.00 each.)

THE first question that one asks of this volume is whether the authors dealing with contemporary events have had the opportunities and have been able to preserve the detachment of those who handled the earlier period. Of volume nine it may be said that there is no sign of let down; of volume ten, that it has not been quite possible to maintain the standard previously set. One problem has been handled better than before: the fixing of responsibility for action among the various persons concerned, secretaries, presidents, and others, officials and outsiders. In another respect there is a woeful deficiency. Background is largely ignored, as the anti-American economic reaction in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, and the attitude of Latin America throughout the period. One wonders why secretaries make tours, uniformly successful, among our southern neighbors.

The sketches are not uncritical, but all are favorable to the character treated. It may be said that in each case an individuality emerges. In the net, they give less a picture of American diplomacy than do those of the earlier volumes. Thus Roosevelt's Monroe Doctrine is omitted, doubtless because it was not Hay's; but its absence leaves subsequent Latin-American diplomacy somewhat in the air. Some treatments show

that infelicity of language which had been noted of those in previous volumes. One is not "confident" of what one does not want (p. 8). To say that Hay came "unspoiled" out of "the dynamic experience of life with Lincoln", is affected (p. 116). The "celebrated Congress of Berlin", was not that of 1885 (p. 212). To speak of a "term" of a treaty, is unusual (p. 294).

The sketch of Sherman minimizes his previous career by itemization. The explanation of his appointment does not meet the criticisms that have been made of it. Sherman's lack of influence seems adequately proven. The treatment of Day is probably the most historically definitive of any in the volumes. In handling the difficult problem of Hay, Professor Dennis deals admirably with the earlier origins of the "Open Door" policy; he does not show a full appreciation of Hay's novelty of method. It is curious to find no mention of the Rumanian note. If Hay did not write it, a statement to that effect would be worth making. To the general reader, the treatment of Root is more novel. In general it is admirable, particularly in matters relating to the reorganization of the State Department. One is surprised to find that Mr. Root's presentation of the fisheries case "convinced the tribunal" (p. 237); his victory was partial. The treatment (pp. 244-245) of the earlier practice of "advice and consent", is quite erroneous. The statement as to Great Britain's action in Manila Bay would seem to be inadequately limited (p. 228). The same author's treatment of Robert Bacon is a bit lyric. The brief discussion of Knox might well have been expanded by some account of the developing function of the secretariat in dealing on the one hand with American financial interests, while conducting foreign relations with the other.

The anonymous section, in volume X., on Bryan as secretary, is distinctly a defense. As such it has a value in that it sets forth his position, from the point of view of intimate knowledge. It has perhaps more importance as a source than as an historical account. The obvious difficulty of dealing with Lansing has been very well handled. The comment on Wilson's insistence that the Kaiser be repudiated: "Even this bitter pill Germany swallowed" (p. 145), is an indication of the provincialism that has been noted as a defect in the current volumes. Colby, like Bacon, is treated with a certain amount of idealism, but proper emphasis is placed upon his instigation of policies subsequently carried out by Mr. Hughes. The chapters on the latter are particularly strong in their description of his methods of work, his intellectual processes, and his personal characteristics, giving a vivid picture of the expanded field to which a modern secretary of state must address himself. While, however, the subjects are boldly handled, many are too much a part of today's controversies to allow the full candor of the earlier volumes.

In looking back at the series as a whole, one is impressed with the consistency and even step with which it has advanced; a tribute to its editing. Until volume X. is reached, there is little variation in the source authority on which the studies are based, and the scholarly approach,

through the mellowing effect of the passing of accepted facts through many minds, becomes, naturally, less potent as the treatment draws nearer the present. There have been, on the whole, among the many authors, earnest purpose and sound judgment. Not only has the search been penetrating, but the material has in general been adequate for the task undertaken. Within its scope, and to the close of the Spanish War, the series is apt to prove definitive. The limitations in what has been attempted should, however, be kept distinctly in mind. Foreign archives might well be productive in giving reactions and comments on the successive secretaries. The development of the State Department is only casually remarked. As the series has progressed, presidential policies and methods have been more and more excluded. The interaction of national diplomacy and public opinion, and the analysis of what has, from time to time, constituted public opinion, remain to be developed and presented. The whole question of agency, in relation to domestic politics, to changes in methods of communication, and to publicity, deserves serious consideration. These comments are not made in derogation of this admirable series of studies, but to put them in their proper relationship to the field to which they appertain. It is an evidence of its scholarly spirit, that it has been kept within its own bounds.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

The Genesis of the American First Army. [Monograph Series on the American Military Participation in the World War, Part II., No. 8.] Prepared in the Historical Section, Army War College. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1928. Pp. x, 81.)

THE publication of this monograph is an event of greater importance than its modest size and appearance would at first indicate. It is but one of a series of no less than fifty-seven monographic studies projected by the Historical Section of the Army War College, which it is intended shall cover, in comprehensive fashion, the American military participation in the World War. A complete list of these studies is printed on pages viii and ix, from which it appears that besides the present monograph, some twelve more are now in course of preparation. The series is divided into four parts, relating, respectively, to mobilization, the operations of the American Expeditionary Forces, supply and training, and demobilization. The preparation of the monographs has been delegated to specially qualified army officers, who have been assigned to the Historical Section of the Army War College.

The Genesis of the American First Army bears every evidence of having been prepared in accordance with the strictest canons of historical method. There is a full bibliography and all important statements are supported by specific references to authorities, which are in most cases unpublished documents in the archives of the War Department. A series of appendixes contains the full texts of a few documents of outstanding significance, while there are also numerous extracts from

original documents in the text itself. In a foreword, it is stated that in the preparation of the study, the greater part of the research and writing has been done by Major Julian F. Barnes, F.A., from which it may be assumed that he is to be regarded as the real author. From the viewpoint of the historian, the giving of the author's name is a welcome departure from the practice followed in many government publications.

This volume deals with a subject of much greater interest and importance, as regards American participation in the war, than its title at first indicates. After it had been decided to send an expeditionary force to France, a fundamental question remained as to the manner in which it should be used. Was it to operate as an American army, under an American commander, or was it to be amalgamated with the Allied armies? General Pershing's instructions were clear, and naturally looked to the former alternative as an ultimate goal, while both the political and military leaders of the Allies favored the latter plan. Until one reads these pages, he can have little appreciation of the practical difficulties which the problem presented, from the time when General Pershing landed in France until the First Army began the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient on September 12, 1918. The pressure which the Allies brought to bear, both upon General Pershing and the American government, is almost unbelievable. And it must be admitted that there were two sides to the question, a fact which Pershing recognized by making concessions to the Allied point of view when there seemed to be real necessity for doing so, though his own views prevailed in the end.

Major Barnes has handled this extremely controversial question with much skill. The tone of his discussion is fair and dispassionate, and the reader feels confident that he has conscientiously endeavored to use all the evidence bearing upon the subject. It is perfectly natural that the problem should be approached from the American point of view, but the arguments of the Allies are everywhere clearly set forth. It is true that in reading such a book as General Charteris's recent biography of Field Marshal Haig, one gets a somewhat different slant upon the question. But Major Barnes's service lies in the fact that he has presented, without bias, such facts as the archives of the War Department contain. In all probability, similar evidence from the other side will be forthcoming at some future time. Not only does the author analyze the proceedings at important conferences, but he traces the movements and dispositions of the various American units, and shows how, in the face of discouraging opposition and endless delay, an American army finally evolved.

Future historians are unquestionably going to devote a great deal of study to certain phases of the conduct of the World War as a vast experiment in international coöperation. The possibilities inherent in such a study are almost unlimited, for the subject involves so many administrative, economic, and psychological, as well as purely military questions. The present monograph is a valuable contribution in this field and a casual survey of the list of titles in the series as a whole indicates that many of those which may be expected in the near future will

possess the same sort of interest. The standards of historical scholarship represented by this first publication inspire confidence, and it is to be hoped that the forthcoming studies will be of equal merit. It should be said, however, that the present format is decidedly unworthy of the contents of the monograph. The type is crowded, the paper is poor, and the copy furnished the reviewer is a flimsy, paper-bound affair. These studies are certainly worthy of publication in more dignified form, even if the government of the United States can not afford to do as fine a piece of work as is being done in a similar field by certain European countries.

One more word should be added. The citations to authorities contained in the *Genesis of the American First Army* give some idea of the richness of the documentary material contained in the archives of the War Department. The Historical Section of the Army War College is formulating plans ultimately to supplement the monographic studies by the publication of a selection of related documents. Every historian will sincerely hope that this project will receive the financial and other support from the government which its very great importance demands.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Public Poor Relief in North Carolina. By ROY M. BROWN, Research Associate in Social Science in the University of North Carolina [University of North Carolina Social Studies Series] (Chapel Hill; the University Press, 1928, pp. xii, 184. \$2.00.)

Welfare Work in Mill Villages: the Story of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina. By HARRIET L. HERRING, Research Associate, University of North Carolina. (Chapel Hill: the University Press. 1929. Pp. xii, 406. \$5.00.)

BOTH of these excellent books come from the University of North Carolina, where, under the leadership of Professor Odum, so much important work in the social sciences is being done. Mr. Brown's little book traces the history of poor relief in North Carolina from its English origins down to the present day. The system based upon the law of 43 Elizabeth was to "remain in effect in that country [England] without fundamental change until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and in North Carolina until the twentieth". The story of the system under the vestrymen until 1776, under the wardens of the poor until 1868, and under the county commissioners since that date is briefly but clearly told. Good use has been made of such meagre records of the earlier periods as have been preserved, and the picture is probably as accurate as can be made.

While it is true that only recently has North Carolina been rich enough to afford the luxury of paupers, the story of present conditions is depressing. Even with the considerable improvement in recent years, particularly since the establishment of the state department of public welfare, conditions in the "County Homes for the Aged and Infirm"

are by no means satisfactory. The jealousy of central control and supervision so characteristic of the state through its history still leaves the management of poor relief in local hands, with the result that while conditions in some counties are generally good, in others the situation is deplorable.

Miss Herring calls her book an approach and an introduction to the textile industry. Born in the state, with a background of personal experience as a welfare worker, she has visited 322 plants in 53 of the 63 counties in which there are textile mills. The establishments she has studied employ about two-thirds of the workers in the industry, and range from a hosiery mill with six employees to the establishments with a thousand or more operatives. She has seen the old mills, some under the control of one family for three-quarters of a century, and those which began operation with a salaried manager only yesterday. Rural mills representing the only industrial enterprise in the county or section have been visited, as well as those in the larger cities. Certainly the study is representative of the industry; and there is no trace of bias or propaganda.

The author begins with a broad definition of welfare work, "all or any activities of a company for the comfort and well-being, social, moral, intellectual, or physical, of its employees, carried on by the efforts of the owner and manager personally or by volunteer or specially employed workers". The method is frankly descriptive—there is not a single general statistical table—but every phase of the life in a mill village is described and discussed with understanding, and, at times, with almost uncanny penetration. The author knows her people, the stock from which they and the mill managers sprang, and the peculiar relations which still exist between employer and employed. She recognizes the variations in the situation, the fact that there is as yet no typical cotton mill, no typical employee, no typical executive, and no common scheme of welfare work.

There are chapters on the schools, the churches, general community and health work, athletics and recreation, housing, insurance, and various other activities. One chapter is made up of short extracts from studies of different phases of life in various mill villages by teachers, welfare workers, and observant citizens, and presents many diverse points of view. While all the chapters are interesting, the two on housing present this much-discussed subject from every angle, and are easily the most valuable study of the question ever printed.

The chapter on the relations between the mills and the churches might also be mentioned. In fact, the whole book is a mine of facts and acute observations, with a minimum of generalizations. The author points out the complexity of the problem, the changing conditions in the industry, and also the fact that North Carolina is not the same state as twenty years ago. All of these make the task of framing any generalizations, except the broadest, utterly impossible. The book is a distinct addition to our scanty knowledge of the subjects discussed, and may be read with profit by all interested in the industrialization of the rural South.

HOLLAND THOMPSON.

MINOR NOTICES

Art and Civilization. Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin, and A. F. Clutton-Brock. (London, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. 263, 12 s. 6 d.) The seventh Unity History School conference, held at Vienna in 1923, brought forth this book to express the conviction that "more appreciation of art, and of art as a part of history, should find a place in our accustomed study of the past, especially in courses of history prescribed at the Universities". Nine writers of high standing discuss in thirteen chapters the origin of art, prehistoric art, Greek, Roman, Asian, early Christian, medieval, Renaissance art and that of later periods, concluding with a chapter on "Art in a Modern Democracy". The historical point of view is maintained—both critical and informative—in the discussion of architecture, painting, sculpture, and, to a minor extent, domestic arts. The writers take for granted a general knowledge and appreciation of art quite common among British historians, but more limited in this country, where the "I know what I like", or intuition, theory, still prevails. The discussions in the book are alert and often provocative. When modern art is reached, the judgments (as is usual) may be taken with reservations. Able writers on the art of the past (where standards have been established by common consent) are prone to dogmatism as to the work of contemporary artists. Americans will agree, at least in part, to the statement that "in architecture Sweden, Denmark and the United States are taking the lead". In the chapter on the art of Asia Lawrence Binyon draws illustrations from the Freer Gallery collections in Washington, to which students of Far Eastern art must come. Professor J. H. Breasted's *Ancient Times*, and J. D. Beazley's *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, are the only other American citations.

CHARLES MOORE.

Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam by his Colleagues and Friends on his Thirtieth Anniversary as Librarian of Congress, 5 April 1929. Edited by William Warner Bishop and Andrew Keogh. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, pp. xi, 555, \$12.00.) Scores, perhaps hundreds, of historical scholars have profited greatly by the extraordinary foresight, liberality, and administrative skill with which Dr. Herbert Putnam, during his thirty years of service at Washington, has developed and managed the Library of Congress. The handsome volume in which some sixty of his fellow-librarians and other associates have combined to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of that service is naturally occupied in the main with essays in the field of library science, but history has its part. Even those papers that narrate the progress of the Library of Congress in one or another department are useful contributions to the cultural history of the country. Several of the essays are distinctly history. Among these Mr. Jusserand's essay on Franklin in France, written with his usual fullness of knowledge and charm of style, stands

foremost. Mr. Utley's excellent history of the Library War Service is the record of a strikingly successful movement, carried on under Dr. Putnam's management—one of the few alleviations we must bear in mind when we think of the World War. Mr. W. C. Lane treats of the removal of the library of Harvard College, from Cambridge to other towns, during the earlier years of the Revolution; Mr. L. L. Hubbard of the question whether Columbus discovered Tobago. Several other essays deal with varieties of material for history—transcripts from Europe, Chinese books, portolan atlases, early Maryland tracts, and the like topics. Excellent likenesses of Dr. Putnam, at different periods of his life, adorn the volume. For its organization and editing we are indebted to the care and public spirit of the librarians of Michigan and Yale universities.

Les Mystères d'Éleusis: leurs Origines, le Rituel de leurs Initiations. Par Victor Magnien, Professeur à l'Université de Toulouse. (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 224, 5 fr.) In view of the scattered and fragmentary character of the literary references to the Eleusinian Mysteries it is convenient to have them gathered into one volume; its usefulness for scholars is distinctly limited by their presentation in French translation unaccompanied by the original text, with the somewhat anomalous exception of a few comparatively simple Latin passages. The difficulties of interpretation in most passages cited are too numerous to make the method satisfactory, however good the translation. The introductory chapter on the origins of the Mysteries¹ offers a convenient summary of the mystery-centres in the Greek world, the relationship of the Eleusinian to other mysteries, and their influence on later Greek philosophies. The explanations of the source passages which make up the greater part of the volume are brief, and depend in large part on Foucart's work, to which the reader is frequently referred, and to which the present volume forms a convenient appendix. Little is offered in the way of discussion of disputed points or of independent theory; in his suggested interpretations of the frescoes of the Villa Igem and the stuccoes of the Underground Basilica, now almost inevitable in such a book, the author is conservative. The suggestion that the child of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue was an "initiate from the hearth" in the Mysteries is more surprising, especially since the author does not explain how the initiation of a newborn infant is to be reconciled with the functions usually assigned to the "initiate from the hearth". While the indiscriminate use of references ranging over a period of a thousand years to make a unified account is justified by the ultra-conservative character of the Mysteries, the reader needs at least a blanket-warning of the difference in point of view between the author of the Hymn to Demeter and of a Christian polemic.

EVA M. SANFORD.

International Arbitration from Athens to Locarno. By Jackson H. Ralston. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1929, pp. xvi, 417,

\$5.00.) Mr. Ralston has gathered from various law writers on international arbitration in ancient and medieval times the instances of arbitrations cited, and has organized them under appropriate headings. He has also collected arbitrations between the United States and Great Britain, the United States and Mexico, and other countries, and certain arbitrations between other nations. He gives in addition very short digests of the cases decided by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, and also by the Permanent Court of International Justice, including the advisory opinions of the latter. The digests of cases are very brief. The author relies solely on law writers without any reference to historians or any historical setting of the ancient or medieval periods. He has also given little attention to the important change in the method of composing courts of arbitration in the nineteenth century, from submitting cases to sovereigns to the establishment of the Permanent Court, a striking modification of the organ of international justice.

The author precedes his digest of arbitrations by a part relating to general principles, most notable of which is his declaration of confidence in natural law, which he believes was "antecedent to our discovery of its existence, only waiting to be made manifest when the occasion arose" (p. 4). Natural law is not "a special providential interference" but "certain governing principles which control the action of men in their individual relation" (p. 3). Natural law rules the material world, "All Nature is under the control of law", and natural law also controls individuals, and so should apply to the collectivity of individuals making up a nation. However, "the principles of natural law governing the affairs of nations" are not applied internationally at present, but many of the principles of international law now in force "are perversions of natural law, and are pregnant with evil consequences".

J. P. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis. By T. R. S. Broughton, Ph.D. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. x, 233, \$2.25.) Dr. Broughton has essayed a task as useful as it is difficult. The difficulty lies in the nature and amount of the source material; the usefulness in the correction it gives to the oft-repeated assertion that Romanization was completely successful throughout the Western Mediterranean lands. Perusal of the book is well worth while if it leads the reader, as it should, to accept the writer's conclusion that "the Romans adapted themselves to Africa; they gave her peace, and made her prosperous, but they never made her Roman" (p. 228).

An introduction on "social and geographic background" is followed by four chapters devoted to the period of the Republic, the years of Caesar and Augustus, the first century, and the second century. Separate treatment is given to the estates and to "African municipal anomalies". A brief conclusion and an excellent index complete the book.

One should not approach Dr. Broughton's essay in a casual and light-hearted manner. It is a serious effort and must be taken seriously. Tobacco should be laid aside, a cloth thrown over the canary's cage, and the clock stopped so that complete concentration may be achieved and retained. One paragraph contains, in succession, sentences of 11, 7, 9, 8, and 7 lines (p. 49 ff.). Even shorter comments demand close attention; as, for example, "The marches of Metellus and of Marius over waterless regions infested with snakes and scorpions to Thala and to Capsa were purely for strategic reasons but echoes of Marius' entry into Gaetulia were still to be heard in 46 B.C." (p. 31).

Out of the bewildering forest of facts Dr. Broughton leads us, at the close of each chapter, into a clearing of conservative and well-considered summary. With certain reservations these summaries assert that Roman policy in Africa was one of exploitation. It lay at the foundation of the work of Caius Gracchus, of Marius, of the senate (when that body exhibited a policy), of Caesar, of Augustus, and of the *principes* who displayed any regard for or interest in the province. "Rome insisted on peace, order and security, on a settled, producing, tax-paying people, and in so doing gave Africa the means of civilizing herself" (p. 225).

On certain minor points the reviewer ventures to differ with the author. It seems unnecessary and is displeasing to read Libyc (p. 108, but Libyan on p. 113), Trajanic (p. 115), Aurelian (meaning of Aurelius, p. 180), and Semite (an adjective, p. 228). Donatism was not altogether "that resurgence of indigenous activity which masqueraded under the name of Donatism" (p. 141). These, however, are matters of opinion and do not affect the value of the book, which is indeed a contribution to the study of Roman provincial administration.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND.

The Transit of Egypt. By Lieutenant-Colonel P. G. Elgood. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. vi, 335, \$7.50.) Events have been moving so rapidly in Egypt since the war and the situation has been so complicated and confused that the older books on the history of the British occupation have been out of date for some time. The story of the past decade is a drama in itself, and has of necessity forced upon the world a revision of earlier opinions not only in respect to the Egyptian problem itself, but also in regard to the policies of the past. Colonel Elgood has attempted a general survey of the history of Egypt, and the book itself proves his competence. He has had wide experience of the country and gives abundant evidence in his foot-notes of the extensive reading he has done in the preparation of the book. It may be said at the outset that his volume is as good as any brief introductory account now available. The facts are substantially correct and are presented throughout with impartiality and detachment. There are obvious difficulties, however, in the composition of such a book, and Colonel Elgood has not entirely escaped them. A survey covering more than two thousand years in somewhat over three hundred pages is an ambitious under-

taking. The author has confined himself to a rapid review of the period prior to the French expedition, but throughout the book there is evidence of pressure of space. The narrative at times becomes breathless, and a deluge of facts is let loose upon the reader without adequate explanation. For example, the earlier phases of the nationalist movement under Mustapha Kemal are insufficiently explained, and the administration of Gorst is so treated that it leaves no very clear impression upon the general reader. Much the best parts of the volume are those dealing with the antecedents and circumstances of the British occupation and those concerned with the war period and the post-war agitation. At times, too, the author shows a tendency to digress unnecessarily, as when he reviews the whole history of the capitulations in the Near East, or examines at some length the story of Turkey's entrance into the war. In such cases he is not always on safe ground, and indulges in questionable statements. For example, he says (p. 214) that in the early years of the present century England still accounted herself the most favored friend and trusted counsellor of the Sultan's government. Disputes about Egypt had not yet impaired Anglo-Turkish relations. In reality the English influence at Constantinople had sunk to the vanishing point by 1892. But these are minor slips. The book is astonishingly free from misstatements, considering how large a field it attempts to cover, and can be used with confidence by the student.

WILLIAM L. LANGER.

Das Kaisertum Karls des Grossen: Theorien und Wirklichkeit. Von Karl Heldmann, Professor an den Universität Halle-Wittenberg. [Quellen und Studien, Band VI., heft 2.] (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1928, pp. viii, 444, 18 M.) The author of this volume gives a critical examination of the most important theories which have been advanced to explain this "most controversial problem of the early Middle Ages", and then offers what he hopes will be a final explanation of the real origin and significance of the empire of Charles the Great.

He first takes up the much debated question of the motive for the establishment of Charles's empire. After a careful presentation and analysis of the numerous theories which have been advanced in attempted explanation of the imperial project he arrives at the conclusion that it was due to a sudden decision on the part of Leo III., who believed that the coronation of the friendly Frankish ruler would both strengthen his own insecure political position in Rome and correct the chaotic legal situation caused in the city by political conditions in Constantinople. The author denies that Charles knew of the project in advance or desired the office given him, since he feared the hostility of Byzantium.

The controversial question of the legality of the empire thus created is investigated in the same thorough manner, and the author concludes that the acclamation of Charles by the Roman people fulfilled the requirements of an imperial election and made him legally Roman emperor with full sovereign rights. But the actual authority wielded by the new

emperor he holds to have been much restricted. Charles's empire was Roman only in a partial sense, since it became limited territorially to a portion of Italy, and Byzantium continued to be considered the Roman Empire. Nor was there any revival of the West Roman Empire since Charles failed to incorporate his different realms into a single state. Yet the author rejects the view that the coronation in the year 800 conferred merely an empty honor, for Charles could and did exercise imperial powers in Roman Italy, and the prestige of his new rank increased his moral and even his political authority in his Frankish and Lombard realms. In addition far-reaching consequences resulted from the coronation, for it caused a definite splitting of the Roman Empire and the establishment of a Roman-German culture and a community of peoples in the West.

While doubt may be expressed as to whether Dr. Heldmann has given a final answer to all questions raised by this difficult problem his conclusions are extremely plausible, because they are based on the sources and because he has avoided the pitfall of reading into the eighth century ideas of a later age.

HUGH MACKENZIE.

An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah Ibn-Munqidh (Kitab Al-I'tibar). Translated from the original manuscript by Philip K. Hitti, Princeton University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. x, 265, \$4.50.) The memoirs of Usāma exist in a unique but incomplete manuscript in the library of the Escorial. The Arabic text was published by Hartwig Derenbourg in 1886, followed by a French translation in 1895. But the present translation is based on a photostat of the original manuscript, as it was evident that Derenbourg's text could not be entirely trusted. The two pages reproduced here make it also quite plain how difficult the establishing of such a trustworthy text must be, and it is highly desirable that Professor Hitti should follow up his translation by publishing the text as he has worked it out. His translation has evidently been made most carefully, but the Arabist using it is continually met by the question, How does the original run? The style, as Professor Hitti remarks, is a curious mixture of the colloquial and the literary. In consequence, any text should be accompanied by a glossary of the more obscure words and usages. Our knowledge of medieval Arabic is still very incomplete and Dozy's *Supplément* calls for supplementing. The present reviewer feels this the more as he has long been at work on a text of very similar characteristics, the Galland manuscript of the Arabian Nights. As a detail, Professor Hitti will find that the obscure colloquial usage which he gives in Arabic and translation at the top of page 20 should be read *wa-thammū* . . . (Usāma may quite possibly have been pronounced *tammū*) and translated "and they kept pressing after them".

Such memoirs as these are not common in Arabic and those of Usāma are practically unique. They give us a most vivid picture of an

important historical period in Syria and Egypt, the fall of the Fatimids and the rise of the power of Saladin, all as seen through the eyes of one who had great part in it, a man of birth and a soldier of reputation, a mighty hunter with the zoological eye, a poet and man of letters—he has twelve books to his credit and his verses are still quoted—and a pious Muslim who knew how to be on good terms with the Templars. Nowadays he would be a traveller, a zoologist, an ethnologist, and an anecdotist, a man of the open air with literary instincts. His memoirs have not the *vie intime* of those of Pepys—they were dictated when he was about ninety—but, if we put aside the war-like feats, there is an almost ludicrous likeness to the garrulous and open-eyed width of interest of Evelyn. Place, time, and circumstances, as the Arab would say, make all the differences. So we may well be grateful to Professor Hitti and to the Records of Civilization series of Columbia University for giving us this easy access to them.

D. B. MACDONALD.

La Vie en France au Moyen Age, du XIIe au Milieu de XIVe Siècle. Par Ch. V. Langlois. Volume IV., *La Vie Spirituelle, Enseignements, Méditations, et Controverses d'après des Écrits en Français à l'Usage des Laïcs.* (Paris, Hachette, 1928, pp. xxviii, 381, 40 fr.) The enterprise in which Professor Langlois has long been engaged and which comes to completion with the present volume is already fairly well known. Declining to paint in his own words a composite picture of French civilization in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, he has sought to present it in many of its more subtle aspects through a series of typical examples drawn from contemporary literature composed in the vernacular for laymen. First he sifted the writings of the romancers and the moralists and produced two volumes designed to reflect the manners and prevailing moral concepts of the epoch. Then turning to the realm of physical ideas, he produced a third volume illustrative of accepted beliefs concerning nature and the physical world. And now, finally, he has provided this third volume with a complement devoted to the simplified teachings which were commonly accepted by laymen concerning the spiritual world—God, sin, the Christian scheme of redemption, etc. The first three volumes of the series have already been in print for a good many years and have recently (1924–1927) undergone an extensive revision; the fourth and last volume now appears for the first time. The method pursued is essentially the same as that with which readers are already familiar from the earlier volumes. The author has chosen from the vernacular literature a limited number of examples believed to be fairly representative (documents typiques, choisis comme échantillons) and has prefaced each with a bibliographical, biographical, and critical commentary, designed to give the reader full orientation, and often making quite definite new contributions to current knowledge of the subjects discussed; and then he has proceeded to a full analysis of each of the works selected, giving copious quotations

from the texts and simple notes to help the inexpert over linguistic difficulties. The examples chosen range chronologically from the *Credo* of Joinville and the advice of St. Louis to his son and his daughter to the *Du Gentil et les Trois Sages* of Raimon Lull. If there is a certain monotony in the subjects treated this is only because of the narrow dogmatism of the age with respect to the matter under consideration. And there is enough variety in the approaches of the different authors to their subjects to lend to this volume much of the same charm which has characterized its predecessors in the series.

C. W. D.

Benefit of Clergy in England in the Later Middle Ages. By Leona C. Gabel. [Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XIV., nos. 1-4.] (Northampton, Smith College, 1929, pp. vi, 148.) Miss Gabel has gathered a large amount of information from gaol delivery rolls, episcopal registers, and other sources about a subject too long neglected by historians. Her doctoral dissertation, which is clearly written and carefully documented, is an excellent piece of work. The development after the Conquest of the immunity known as benefit of clergy is briefly described in chapter one. Thereafter attention is concentrated upon the procedure employed in the case of criminous clerks from the middle of the reign of Henry III., to the Reformation, during which time the law of the land gradually restricted the privileges gained by the clergy of previous generations. Though a clerk could not be tried in a lay court, the charges against him could be and were investigated in such a court and a jury directed to return a verdict. Only convicted clerks were handed over to the church courts. The lay court could prohibit the admission to purgation in the church courts of a *clericus convictus*. The number of crimes for which benefit of clergy could be claimed was reduced. The test of clerkship also underwent an interesting development. Eventually the literary test, administered by judges in the lay courts, superseded other proofs, and admitted laymen as well as the tonsured clergy to the immunity claimed by the church. These and other details are fully discussed in this valuable study.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

A History of Europe, 1500-1815. By James Edward Gillespie, Assistant Professor of European History in Pennsylvania State College. (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1928, pp. xxvi, 602, \$5.00.) What first strikes the reviewer of this book is the amplitude of its dimensions. The author has a very definite design and he has allowed himself all the room necessary to execute it. Nowhere is there any suggestion of crowding or haste. The impression is rather one of deliberate pace and time enough. Professor Gillespie believes that time spent in preparation is time saved in the end. Like a wise builder he looks first to his foundations. His various introductory chapters, as, for example, on the medieval background of the modern period, on the causes of the Reformation, on the

Old Régime and the eve of the French Revolution, are models of thoroughness and completeness.

Indeed, the entire book is characterized by exceptional fullness of treatment. In places it is almost encyclopedic in details; yet, for all its abundance of materials, avoiding congestion or confusion. For, as a good pedagogue, the author never allows the student to lose sight of the main issue. But as for short cuts to ready-made summaries, he will none of that.

Another of Professor Gillespie's pronounced merits¹ is his strict subordination of the transient to the permanent, the incidental to the essential. His point of view is the evolutionary one; his interest centres in developments, rather than in events; he focuses attention upon the great formative and shaping forces; the social and economic are accorded more emphasis than the political and the diplomatic. And yet, important as is the economic, there is no attempt to explain everything in economic terms. Professor Gillespie knows that life is too complex for that, and in his analyses of causes and motives he gives due recognition to the aesthetic, the ethical, and the religious.

On controversial matters the attitude of the author is fair, candid, judicial. His temper is that of the scholar, not the partizan. His opinions are his own, but based upon careful study and mature reflection, and expressed with moderation and discretion. And he has been scrupulously careful to check his own conclusions by the results of the latest findings, and to bring his work up to date.

With so many excellent qualities, fullness, accuracy, impartiality, breadth of view, soundness of judgment, Professor Gillespie's book ought to meet with wide acceptance and prove of great service to teacher and student alike.

THEODORE COLLIER.

A History of the League or Sainte Union, 1576-1595. By Maurice Wilkinson, M.A., St. Johns College, Oxford. (Glasgow, Jackson, Wylie, and Company, 1929, pp. xii, 223, 10 s. 6 d.) To recount the history of the Catholic League properly it is necessary to interpret clearly a most complicated century of French history. This the author has tried to do. But one must have a comprehensive grasp of European history to make much sense out of his book. It is difficult to read. Moreover, Mr. Wilkinson has not written a history of the league. Rather does he present a review of the religious wars and the events in which the league played such an important part. Yet, to the scholar interested in this subject, the book will prove valuable. For example, the author brings out very well the significance of the league by showing that while this organization "could not make France Spanish or ultramontane . . . it did, in the long run, prevent a Protestant King from acquiring the crown on his own terms" (p. 9).

Much research seems to have gone into the making of this book, for the volume contains twenty-one well selected and carefully edited

documents bearing upon the subject. Mr. Wilkinson has inserted a bibliography of contemporary and early printed books and pamphlets "which", he says, "is the work of the librarian of the Sorbonne and myself, and is as complete as anything available, at any rate, in this country". Strange to relate, the author admits that he "has looked at the merest fraction of these works". In fact "most of the authorities referred to in the text", he says, "do not figure in this bibliography (p. xi). Then why publish the bibliography? Other scholars will find it of little value, for it is poorly arranged, not critical, and contains no works published after 1905. In fact there is no evidence to prove that the author has consulted recent books on this period." However, his volume may pave the way for a more complete work on the subject.

FRANKLIN C. PALM.

The Politics of Peace. By Charles E. Martin, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Washington. (Stanford University Press, 1929. pp. xx, 458, \$4.00.) "Politics, education, ethics, history, journalism, jurisprudence, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, economics, and sociology", declares Dean Martin (p. 441), "are all making their contributions to the problem and the possibilities of peace". He passes their effects in review as they appear in political life, subdivided into individualism, collectivism, nationalism in its kaleidoscopic forms, constitutionalism, bolshevism, imperialism, militarism, education, labor, agriculture, art, and literature. The facts of modern political institutions are examined with painstaking comprehensiveness and reference to the works of many authors. Each set of political conditions is referred to a moral test (seemingly the author's own innate sense of right and wrong), passing through which "all the inconsistencies will serve the higher consistency of a better life". "Form and pattern will result from men and places and times", and by the use of "free thought and social truth."

In this there is no suggestion of structural thinking, of an intellectual discipline giving shape to an amorphous miscellany of unrelated facts; there is little value in a description of well-known situations and the views of various writers unless there is some integration of the material around a central theme, or at least a freshness of treatment that brings out unfamiliar aspects. The commentaries with which the various chapters are interspersed or summed up are for the most part likely to arouse neither opposition nor the reader's searching of his own mind; as, for example: "Law is no better than its administration, and there is no more justice than that which is determined and enforced": "A system of education which will develop the war mind and the idea of the world mission will make war inevitable, and the system of education will be to blame."

Elizabeth and Essex, a Tragic History. By Lytton Strachey. (New York. Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1928, pp. 296, \$3.50.) In his

second biography of an English queen, Strachey has paid far more deference to the requirements of art and of literature than to those of history. He has turned every phrase carefully, sometimes to such an extent that the care is apparent, but has achieved a result which belongs in the realm of fiction quite as much as in that of history. Obviously he has a belief that a good biography in the modern manner should include a definite plot and, to create that plot, he has, perhaps not falsified, but certainly distorted both characters and events.

Essex he pictures as a last representative of the virtues and vices of a Lancastrian nobility, chivalrous, impulsive, and egocentric. Elizabeth, after he probes her character by means of psychology and psycho-analysis, appears to have been as oversexed as her parents, vain, headstrong, and domineering, but endowed with an excellent instinct for self-preservation. In fact Strachey attributes to both his hero and heroine characteristics very similar to those of the much discussed younger generation of today. Then, to further the purpose of his plot, the author discovers that villains are necessary and creates them in his interpretation of Francis Bacon and Robert Cecil. The author of "the Essays" is given a mechanical intelligence expressly deprived of any imagination, and a loyalty which is dependent upon self-interest. The portrait of Cecil is far more artistic. The founder of the house of Salisbury is made to have been a crafty and poisonous serpent whose deeds required darkness and concealment, and whose success came from a deft destruction of all rivals in which his own part could be never more than suspect. Both Bacon and Cecil are made dispassionate and impersonal, yet with a lust for power.

In a volume replete with marvellous word-craftsmanship Strachey's picture of the death of Philip of Spain is so outstanding as to deserve repetition. "When he awoke, it was night and there was singing at the altar below him; a sacred candle was lighted and put into his hand, the flame, as he clutched it closer and closer, casting lurid shadows upon his face; and so, in ecstasy and in torment, in absurdity and in greatness, happy, miserable, horrible, and holy, King Philip went off, to meet the Trinity."

Thus by throwing a vivid light on certain events and characters, while minimizing or omitting other equally important traits and personalities, Strachey has written a melodramatic tragedy and, in one sense of the word, a tragic history. His primary offenses against the canons of historical writing lie in his emphasis and in a too great certainty. His characters may or may not have been moved by the desires and motives bestowed upon them, but the author expresses no doubt. No one can say that Strachey's interpretation is false but Strachey gives no indication that other explanations can exist.

An excellent contrast, for example, exists between Professor E. P. Cheyney and Strachey. The first, in his *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth* finds it impossible to discover the exact contents of the locket which Essex burned immediately

preceding his arrest, and offers several possibilities (II. 533). The latter has no doubt (pp. 239, 246). Cheyney devotes thirty-four pages to Essex's expedition into France and describes the circumstances accompanying his recall. Strachey gives two pages to the same incident and minimizes the disagreement between the nobleman and the queen. To do otherwise would have hampered the logical development of his plot. Finally Cheyney omits entirely the conspiracy, or lack of a conspiracy, of Ruy Lopez; Strachey tells the story in twenty-five pages.

A short bibliography of material in print and a good index conclude the volume.

G. W. G.

Stuart Politics in Chapman's Tragedy of Chabot. By Norma Dobie Solve. [University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, VI.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1929, pp. x, 176, \$2.50.) Chapman's *Tragedy of Chabot* was shown by Emil Koepfel in 1897 to be considerably based upon Etienne Pasquier's *Les Recherches de la France*. The thesis of this monograph is that there are elements in Chapman's play not to be found in Pasquier's original, and that these elements are drawn from Chapman's knowledge of the fall of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. Chapman had looked to Somerset as his patron and remained openly loyal to him after the downfall and imprisonment of that unhappy nobleman: he would have been likely to have given a favorable picture of him in a play if possible. I am inclined to think that Miss Solve makes her case, she could have done it easily in fifty pages instead of one hundred and forty. She has "got up" the reign of James I. and she does not really understand too well the ins and outs of that time. It would have been to her advantage to have used the Holles correspondence in the ninth volume of the *Report on the Portland Manuscripts* (Hist. MSS. Comm.) and not to have published until she read the many court letters to be found in the British Museum. She is singularly inexpert in the use of authorities, cites Burnet, Oldmixon, and Roger Coke for the reign of James I., and quotes again and again G. W. Johnson's *Life of Coke*, instead of hunting down his originals. One authority seems about as good as another to her, provided that it is an old book.

W. N.

Negotiations between King James VI. and I. and Ferdinand I., Grand Duke of Tuscany: a Selection of Documents transcribed from the Denmilne Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland and from a Manuscript in the Staats-Bibliothek at Munich. By J. D. Mackie, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of London. [St. Andrews University Publications, no. XXV.] (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1927, pp. xxv, 104, \$1.50.) The foreign policy of James, while he was as yet only James VI. of Scotland but hoping soon to become also James I. of England, is gradually becoming more clear.

if not less tortuous, as previously unconsidered or unknown records are brought to light. This interesting group of transcripts from a great Scottish collection shows him sending a representative on four occasions, in almost successive years, to Florence to negotiate with the grand duke of Tuscany on matters connected with his design on the English throne. It seems strange at first sight to find the king of Protestant Scotland offering secretly to make terms with the pope; but this is not the only testimony to such a plan on his part, the Reformation break was still new, and Henry IV. of France had just done openly what James proposed to do secretly. There were other suggestions also—for a marriage between Prince Henry and the duke's daughter, for the purchase of arms on the Continent in case violence should be involved in securing the throne when the queen died, and of course for the borrowing of money. There are distant echoes, such as reach us from so many quarters, but always so obscurely, of some collusion on the part of Essex.

But all these projects lost their significance when James entered into that private correspondence with Cecil that was to make his accession in a few years so easy, and to furnish such an illuminating impression of the characters of the two men. The last embassy of the four here described, all of which lay between 1598 and 1604, was therefore little more than a visit of courtesy and of excuse for not proceeding with earlier proposals. The fifty documents which make up the bulk of this excellent little book are in Latin, French, Italian, English, and a Scottish that differs, in spelling at least, almost as much from English as do any of the other languages. There is attached an interesting appendix concerning a later project dating from 1611 for a Florentine marriage for Prince Henry.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

La Politique Coloniale de la France: le Ministère des Colonies depuis Richelieu. Par Albert Duchène. (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. xvi, 347. 36 fr.) M. Duchène, not a professional historian but a colonial official of long experience, writes from the viewpoint of the "Directeur des Affaires Politiques au Ministère des Colonies". The study is scholarly; is based on the *Archives de la Marine* and a wealth of printed sources and monographs; is documented throughout; and is objective until the last chapter where the author, as an interested participant, confesses a zeal for the creation of a "ministère de la France extérieure" that would direct effectively through a single ministerial channel all the imperial force latent in forty million Frenchmen plus sixty million colonials. A trans-Saharan railway in particular awaits, he believes, the unification of colonial administration in Africa. Rarely narrative as to colonial affairs, nor technically institutional, the work is highly personalized history—a collection of skillfully carved cameos of practically every minister of the marine and colonies and of every French imperialist from Richelieu to Delcassé. Living his life amid documents, M. Duchène is peculiarly qualified to be the historian of a colonial bureaucracy.

The account of the rise of imperialism under the old régime and its decline during the Revolution and early nineteenth century is well proportioned and judiciously interpreted in the light of all the factors in French nationalism. Particularly interesting is the treatment of the renaissance of French imperialism since 1870 and its liberalization. Representation from Algeria and the colonies was admitted to the Chambers (1871-1875) and cables made the admission significant. Dislère, Faure, Armand Rousseau, Eugene Étienne, Monsignor Freppel, Delcassé, and Reinach at Paris; Joffre, Galliéni, and Gouraud overseas; and a colonial personnel trained at the École Coloniale, all dedicated themselves to the realization of the imperial idea. The magnitude of the movement manifested itself in the establishment of a distinct ministry of the colonies (1894) with a responsible Cabinet minister who has participated in the major decisions of our time, *e.g.*, the Peace Conference (1919) and the Washington Conference (1922). A tendency toward centralization has been tempered by decentralization; territorial liaisons and institutional adjustments to environment have been achieved; and the empire yields dividends. Figures for 1926 show sixty million inhabitants, locally sustained budgets of three milliards of francs, an exterior trade of sixteen milliards of francs or 13.5 per cent. of the total commerce of France, and an annual contribution of fifty million francs to the French budget. Perhaps more significant and disturbing too is the impact of empire on French consciousness. M. Duchêne is a child of this imperial renaissance and his book neither suggests nor claims for him the rôle of philosophic historian.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

Le Gallicanisme Politique et le Clergé de France. Par Victor Martin, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie Catholique de l'Université de Strasbourg. (Paris, Picard, 1929, pp. 337, 30 fr.) The famous Declaration of 1682, wrote Paul Viollet, had a "preface"; a complicated one, adds M. Martin. The author draws a sharp line between the first article of the declaration and the remaining three. The first proclaims political Gallicanism, namely the absolute independence of the king in relation to the pope in temporal affairs. The latter have to do with the relationship of the pope to the Gallican church and to general councils.

Since the fourteenth century the French theologians had been Gallican in the sense of subordinating the pope to the councils. In the relation of pope to king, however, they admitted the right of papal intervention by "*un pouvoir accidental*". This power rested on a democratic basis: the pope excommunicated, the people deposed the king. But the chaos of the religious wars shattered the ideal of popular sovereignty, and the divine right of kings took its place. When, in 1615, the clergy denounced political Gallicanism as proclaimed by the Third Estate, it was for the last time. For political Gallicanism is a corollary of the divine right of kings, and as the clergy accepted the new conception of sovereignty, the corollary was bound to follow.

The growing prestige of the monarchy, coupled with the Sorbonne's struggle against the Jesuits, bore fruit in 1625-1626. The complete independence of the king from any interference by the pope was recognized by the bishops; but the clergy was still divided on the question of recognizing political Gallicanism as a doctrine of the church. A censure of the theological faculty of Paris directed against the ultramontane propositions of the Italian Jesuit Santarelli went so far as to declare his doctrine "*nouvelle, fausse, erronée et contraire à la parole de Dieu*" (p. 188). At this juncture Richelieu threw his weight against the Gallican party.

Richelieu's interference was based on expediency. Actually, his efforts on behalf of the royal power meant the death of ultramontaniam in the political sphere. When the question was again at issue in 1663, the doctors of the Sorbonne raised no objections to the doctrine of political Gallicanism. Nor did the bishops find any fault with the first article of the Declaration of 1682. However, since 1643 the opponents of Jansenism had leaned heavily on the popes, and as a consequence the doctrine of papal infallibility found a growing support in the ranks of the clergy and of the Sorbonne doctors. A majority of the clergy undoubtedly opposed the publication of the declaration because they felt that it was inopportune; but in addition the doctrines contained in the last three articles were forced upon them.

The chapters of this brilliant study of church history in its relation to political theory first appeared in the *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, Strasbourg, 1926-1928.

E. A. BELLER.

Cahiers de Doléances des Sénéchaussées de Quimper et de Concarneau pour les États Généraux de 1789. Publiés et annotés par Jean Savina et Daniel Bernard. Tome II. [Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, Département du Finistère.] (Rennes, Oberthur, 1927, pp. 416.)

Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage de Mirecourt. Département de Vosges. Publiés, annotés, et précédés d'une introduction par E. Martin, Bibliothécaire de la Ville d'Épinal. (Épinal, Imprimerie Lorraine, 1928, pp. xlviii, 281, 25 fr.) These latest volumes of the great Collection of Documents on the Economic History of the Revolution, which concern two electoral divisions, one on the western edge of the Vosges, the other on the Breton coast, present more contrasts than similarities. The bailliwick of Quimper and Concarneau, about one-third of the present department of the Finistère, were united for the purpose of sending deputies to the States General. Their political life was more agitated than rural and forested Mirecourt. The land tenure, that of the *domaine congéable*, with the title often held by men of the middle class, left the peasants in a wretched condition, which the editor describes in his admirable introduction. He quotes from a contemporary traveller observations on the typical hut, with its two compartments separated only by a slight parti-

tion of interwoven withes; "le maitre de ménage, sa femme et ses enfants occupent une de ses parties; l'autre contient les boeufs, les vaches, tous les animaux de la ferme. Les exhalaisons réciproques se communiquent librement et je ne sais qui perd à cet échange". In the parish cahiers complaint against the land tenure is frequent, but the bourgeois seem to have had influence enough to keep them out of the general cahier of Quimper. The editors think that in regard to the parish cahiers it is necessary to give up the idea that they are "l'expression originelle et originale" of the peasants, because they were commonly drawn up by lawyers quite apart from the primary assemblies. These scribes, however, the editors believe, interpreted more or less faithfully the feelings and views of the members. In some of the assemblies there are traces of struggle and lines of cleavage between the middle class and the peasants. Model cahiers, notably the *Charges d'un bon citoyen des campagnes*, had a wide influence. The cahiers of Mirecourt are to a greater extent the expression of local feeling. It is curious that the faces of the peasants there were set against the abolition of *vaine pâture*, or the introduction of enclosures, the reforms which Arthur Young felt to be most needed.

Napoleon, Self-Destroyed. By Pierce Clark. (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929, pp. xxiv, 253, \$3.00.) This is an attempt to apply in the study of a great personality and an historic career the principles of Freud's "metapsychology", a more recent development of psycho-analysis. The author believes that the so-called scientific history has disregarded a wealth of genuine data for the lack of an adequate approach and technique. He is ready to concede that the postulates of psycho-analysis are tentative, but points out that only by putting them into practice will their limitations appear. Napoleon is undoubtedly an excellent subject because of the wealth of information available in regard to every phase of his experience. Dr. Clark concludes from his study of Napoleon that he was a "narcist", "characterized by excessive unchecked egoistic tendencies" which he neither harmonized nor disciplined with relation to his actual environment. When the contrast between dream and reality became decisive, as it did in the later Empire, ruin was only a question of time. No one will deny the interest of the author's project. An essential condition of success, however, is that the new principles and technique be applied to established facts, and not to phenomena partly fictitious or inexactly described. The bibliography of the book does not provoke confidence in the experiment. How can the phenomena of Napoleon's youth be studied to advantage without utilizing the researches of Arthur Chuquet, or his relations with the members of his family without consulting Frédéric Masson? From the character of the bibliography one must infer that no attention has been paid at first hand to the recollections of Chaptal or Fain or Molé, whose comments on Napoleon are penetrating. One of the authorities cited is John S. C. Abbott, *Napoleon at St. Helena, Interesting Anecdotes*. Long conver-

sations of Napoleon, the details of which rest upon the most dubious testimony, are made the basis of psychological interpretations. This does not pretend to be a biography of Napoleon, but the scientific use of the situations which are described requires that they be stated exactly. And yet the account of Waterloo is based on Victor Hugo rather than on Henri Houssaye. In the description of the eighteenth Brumaire Lucien Bonaparte appears as presiding officer of the Council of Elders, although later he is given his proper position. The Egyptian expedition occupies an important place in the general argument, but the battles of Mount Tabor and Aboukir, three hundred miles and three months apart, are fused into one. "It is a bright spring morning; Napoleon sits his horse on Mount Tabor in the clear sunlight. He watches the scene in the vale below as six thousand of his soldiers meet four times their number. . . . The Battle of Aboukir lasts six hours. At its crisis the little general moves from Mount Tabor with a single division", etc. With facts treated in this fashion it is difficult to judge as to the success with which the principles of psycho-analysis are applied to Napoleon's experience.

Tocqueville und die Demokratie. Von Helmut Göring. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. xviii, 222, 7 M.) No subject could seem more academically innocent. Indeed until the last five pages, it is handled with impeccable objectivity. Then the author's smoldering fire bursts forth. Herr Göring does not like democracy and it is clear that he is saddened by Germany's status since the war. For him, to bind a "Behördenvolk" to a parliamentary constitution means "the reverse of freedom, the rule of irresponsibility, an invisible, intangible absolutism 'der Anonymität'" (p. 218). Meanwhile, democratic ideas and formulas, "under the leadership of the Anglo-Saxons, especially of the United States" control the field of foreign affairs, increasing rather than diminishing the danger of war. "In the name of the world conscience, world peace, humanity, freedom, justice [*i.e.*, economic interest], quite a modern conquest-policy is realisable." Direct annexations are antiquated. Invisible controls, international commissions "unter geschickter völkerrechtlicher Formulierung" can produce a splendid system of foreign rule. When the intangibility of such a rule as is conferred in practice by a financial control is united with the irresponsibility of a parliamentary "Cliquenwirtschaft", ruling with commissions and funds a people accustomed to obeying authority, one has before one's eyes a "Machtpolitik" so skillfully carried out, that the Romans would doubtless envy the methods of our day (p. 219).

No political theorist seems more remote than Tocqueville. But it is easy to see why he is not remote for Herr Göring. Perhaps on consideration there may be an element of permanent value in his criticism. Tocqueville, in brief, was a liberal aristocrat, a great admirer of England, a disciple of Montesquieu with his checks and balances. He was best satisfied with the government of the Restoration at the time of

Louis XVIII.; particularly he admired Royer-Collard. Yet the form of the state was always of less importance to him than the extent to which it guaranteed personal freedom (p. 107). That was the real essence of social life and there were times when, despite one's preference for a constitutional monarchy, it might best be secured under a republic (p. 174). But the danger of democracy is that under the pretext of public safety or the national will, the majority may ride roughshod over the minority and personal freedom be no more. (Is Tocqueville so remote after all?) From mass-dictatorship the political pendulum swings to caesarism, an absolutism far more drastic than that of the Old Régime, since aristocratic limitations on the master will have been swept aside. There remains "a great flat horizon, where, whichever way one turns, one sees nothing but the colossal figure of the Emperor" (p. 58). So he was the enemy of Bonapartism, though by a strange irony, he was for a short time Minister of Foreign Affairs when Louis Napoleon was President of the Second Republic.

The book has five chapters, one on the French situation during Tocqueville's early life, one analyzing each of his seven principal writings, a third devoted to a general discussion of his political philosophy, a fourth reconstructing his ideal state and a fifth, descriptive of his somewhat unsuccessful participation in active political life. There is inevitably considerable overlapping in this method of treatment, but the general picture is very clearly brought out. This shrewd observer, who thought well of the American system only because there pure democracy was limited by respect for law and by a high regard for personal freedom and for religion, this careful historian who saw the essential continuity between the France of the *Ancien Régime* and that of later days, was really a fine old Whig of the type beloved by Macaulay. He was doctrinaire, no doubt, and he was a thinker rather than a doer, but he was a noble, upright man and one of the really great political philosophers.

There is an interesting section describing the influence of Tocqueville on Cavour. Benjamin Constant was surely not the son-in-law of Madame de Staël (p. 3).

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

La Princesse Mathilde: sa Vie et ses Amis. Par Ferdinand Bac. (Paris, Hachette, 1928, pp. 251, 20 fr.) The daughter of King Jerome and the niece of Napoleon I. does not claim our interest by any relation to important policies or events so much as by what she was and by the friends she assembled in her salon, especially during the period of the Second Empire. The memory of her uncle was literally her cult, and she did not hesitate to break friendships when she saw a lack of appreciation of what he was, as is illustrated by the incident of the *p. p. c.* left at Taine's door after the publication of the first section of the *Modern Régime*. Her salon continued under the Third Republic, but with a diminishing group of friends. It is the description of these friends

which makes up the principal interest of the book. Some light is also thrown upon the character of her cousin, the Emperor Napoleon III. The presentation would have been more effective if the author had been less given to cryptic utterances and to explanation by suggestion rather than by direct statement.

The Union of Moldavia and Wallachia, 1859. By W. G. East, Assistant in Historical Geography, London School of Economics. (Cambridge, the University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xii, 220, \$3.00.) The dramatic struggle for Italian unification and its great significance have so engrossed the student of modern history that he is apt to overlook the partial union of another nationality, which took place almost simultaneously, and which received a large share of attention from the European Powers. Mr. East is the first one to present to us a detailed study of this episode, and has produced a wealth of information, not heretofore utilized. One only wonders why he stopped at 1859 instead of including the struggle over organic union in 1861.

Since the work is avowedly an essay in diplomatic history, there is very little attempt to study the contribution which the Rumanian people themselves made to their unification, and even the shaping of their new political status—in which Russia played an interesting part—claims but little of the author's attention. But, as a study of the external relations of the principalities and the interest of the various Powers in favoring or combatting the nationalist aspirations, and the extent to which these lands were a shuttle-cock of diplomatic rivalries, this work may be regarded as a distinct contribution to the history of the Eastern Question. Though considerable deviation from chronological sequence sometimes leads to repetition, the book is never tedious or bewildering. There is, however, a general criticism that might be made—one that applies to a great many studies of international politics by English writers. A Continental movement, which has a significance *per se*, is viewed too much through British eyes. This is partly due to an overwhelming reliance on British sources. It is true that the French archives for this period were not open at the time the book was written, and the Austrian despatches do not show that Vienna played more than a secondary rôle in these controversies, but on French policy, which was paramount in making Rumania, the author could have used the Sturdza collection to greater advantage. On one occasion (p. 143) he misstates an instruction to Thouvenel because he utilized a British account instead of the actual telegram, printed in Sturdza. He is also rather inclined to underestimate the importance of France's support of union and the effect of the annulment of the Moldavian elections.

The quarrel over Bolgrad was not "the first clash of post-war diplomacy" (p. 94). The apology for Stratford (p. 113) hardly follows the facts on the preceding page. The statement of Buol's opinion (p. 152) is scarcely credible, and reference should have been given. The firmans for investing Couza were not in May (p. 167) but in September,

and Couza was not "summoned" to Constantinople; he went more than a year later, of his own free will. Couza's "praying to be allowed to abdicate", etc. (p. 164), is an overstatement; so also was Bulwer's assertion, accepted by the author, that the central commission demanded "the independence of the Principalities". There are, however, remarkably few inaccuracies in so complicated a study.

T. W. RIKER.

The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia. By Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. xxii, 360, \$7.50.) The Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden was a lady-in-waiting from 1913 to 1918 to Alexandra Feodorovna, the last Empress of Russia. In this capacity she had unusual opportunities to observe the beautiful family life of the last of the Romanovs. In the volume under review, she has gathered material from outside sources, chiefly published and well-known accounts, for the period down to 1913. From that time to the last days of the imperial family her own observations are at times supplemented by printed accounts or by what she heard from others, as she was not initiated into everything that went on. For the historian that which she saw or heard herself is important, and this is to be found in the period after she became a member of the imperial household.

In the main the biography confirms what we already know. The empress's whole life was wrapped up in the emperor and her children, especially the Tsarevitch. She was deeply religious, if not bigoted. Delicate in health and highly superstitious, she was given to brooding and melancholy. She became wholly absorbed in handing down to the heir an empire in which autocracy would be intact. Though a German princess, she became a thorough convert to Russian orthodoxy and wholeheartedly adopted Russian nationality. Contrary to rumors she was loyal and patriotic during the war. Though the author seeks to exonerate the Tsarina from playing an important rôle in politics in 1915 and 1916, she does not make out a strong case. For this the published letters of the Tsarina to the Tsar are a better authority. It is now certain beyond any doubt that the Russian opposition was wrong in imputing unpatriotic motives to the Tsarina, but right in ascribing to her a decisive political rôle in the years preceding the Russian Revolution. It is evident from these letters, which the author does not use, that the Tsar was spurred on to numerous cabinet changes and appointments of one kind or another by the Tsarina's constant nagging that "Our Friend" (Rasputin) wanted this or that. So much was she under the latter's sway that she was much influenced by his prediction, "When I go, you shall go also" (p. 244).

The author, conservative in point of view and deeply devoted to her mistress, sees the difficulties in which the Romanovs finally became involved, as the outcome of the Tsarina's naturally shy disposition, her all-pervading love for her immediate family, her grief over the incurable

illness of her only son, which gave Rasputin his opportunity, and the isolation of the ruling family, which her shy nature and her delicate health only exaggerated. She believes that the Tsar's greatest difficulty was the lack of strong men like Stolypin, though she does not see that the old régime was doomed if it did not attack in time the fundamental problems which it faced and that to solve these problems meant vital changes in the old régime itself. Had these problems been solved or honestly faced, the comedy of Rasputin might have led to a palace revolution, or even a political revolution, instead of the greatest social revolution known to history.

ROBERT J. KERNER.

The Story of Trade Unionism from the Combination Acts to the General Strike. By Robert M. Rayner. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1929, pp. x, 278, \$2.50.) The main object of Mr. Rayner was to enable him, as an "outsider", neither Trade Unionist nor Capitalist, to get an historical understanding of the General Strike, "the most remarkable upheaval", he says, "of our country's history". He has accomplished this purpose, going back to the origins of the British Labor Movement, but giving most attention to recent events. Other books were written by "insiders", but his is an exposition for "plain persons who want to know the facts and to understand the minds and motives of the principal actors in the drama". More than this, he has shown clearly the reasons which gave to the Labor party its sudden rise to power, so that the book is not only a story of trade unionism, it is an illuminating story of British politics. He makes comparisons with other countries, not very satisfactory respecting the United States, but enough to bring out the seriousness of the industrial and political situation in England, which has apparently eliminated the Liberal party and made the struggle of capital and labor the dominant issue.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1535-1834. By Hosea Ballou Morse, LL.D. Volume V., Supplementary, 1742-1774. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, pp. x, 212, \$4.00.) The previous four volumes of Mr. Morse's great work on the English East India Company's commerce with China left a partial gap for the years 1743-1753, and a complete one for the years 1754-1774. This was because the documents for the earlier period were scanty and for the latter period entirely missing. Fortunately, however, duplicate records for these years were found in the British legation in Peking, and this additional volume has been prepared on the basis of them. Like its predecessors, it quotes extensively from the original manuscripts and summarizes where it does not quote. Like them, too, its arrangement is chronological rather than topical—although the material in each year or group of years is usually headed with the title of some outstanding event or movement of the months covered. Many interesting and im-

portant events are chronicled. Troublesome disputes between the French and the English led to a suggestion that they be dealt with by some such device as extraterritoriality. The system of self-government in the British community by councils of supercargoes—necessarily not continuing bodies—was still in use. Dealings with the famous Co-hong are narrated, together with the dissolution of this body—temporary as it proved—in 1771. The story of the origin of many of the rules and customs by which trade was conducted until 1839 is recounted. The names of many ships, of ship-captains, and of supercargoes are given. Prices of commodities used in trade, lists of cargoes, and other lists of merchandize are reproduced. Material exists here, in other words, for research in numbers of problems connected with this period. Mr. Morse has added worthily to the great service which he has long been rendering to the study of relations between the Occident and China in the past two and a half centuries.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

Extracts from the Records of the African Companies. Collected by Ruth A. Fisher. (Washington, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1929, pp. 108, \$1.00.) In the process of copying for a forthcoming work to be published by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Miss Ruth Anna Fisher has extended her search in the papers of the African companies, in the Public Record Office. The fruits of her labor first appeared in the *Journal of Negro History*, July, 1928, and are now given more permanent form. Probably never has there been such an opportunity to study primitive peoples as was offered to the planters of the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when thousands of Africans, from widely scattered tribes, were transported to the plantations of America. Of this opportunity no use whatever was made. The tribe from which the negro came was of moment to his purchaser only in so far as it helped him to determine whether he was buying a good workman and a docile slave. Tribal customs and tribal history were of no interest and in a short time were completely lost.

Fortunately, the resident factors of the African Company, stationed on the West Coast of Africa, were, by very force of circumstances, less blind. Native warfare often compelled them to observe the people with whom they lived and their observations were recorded and from time to time sent to their masters in England. While these observations are far from meeting one's desires, they do contain a vast variety of information. The letters, journals, and memoranda of all sorts, were written by men primarily interested in trade, but much matter other than that pertaining to trade slips in. Petty quarrels between English and Dutch, and English and French, with the natives on one side or the other, incessant bickering between tribes, palavers in which the English shared, native religions, native justice, native industries, the kidnapping of Africans by English captains, efforts to ransom negroes sold in Barbados, these and many

other topics find illustration and illumination in Miss Fisher's documents, which cover one hundred years, and come from every section of the West Coast. The record of events is frequently interspersed with comments on the character of the tribes with which the whites come in contact. Fantees and Ashantees received most frequent comment, since their quarrels often closed the paths of trade and shut off the supply of slaves. It is noticeable that in general the factors speak of both these tribes with a large measure of respect. Many individual natives are also commented upon. Of one "sensible worthy black man" an agent writes: "I will venture to say [he] has more Hon'r and Honesty than his Majesty. Warlike Cpts and is a much better Englishman" (p. 82).

Dr. Woodson has supplied for the volume a brief introduction. It is a pity that the documents might not themselves at some points have received further explanation.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

Juan María de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus; Missionary in the Province of New Spain, and Apostolic Conqueror of the Californias. By Miguel Venegas, translated into English and edited by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. (Cleveland, A. H. Clark Company, 1929, pp. 350, \$6.00.) Juan María de Salvatierra, whose biography Mrs. Wilbur has rendered into English, was the outstanding man in all that remarkable group of Jesuits who planted the Christian faith and European civilization in Lower California. Since the time of Cortés one effort after another to colonize the barren land had failed. Weary of the task, the Spanish government turned the peninsula over to the Jesuits, on terms of practical independence, similar to those under which they were operating in Paraguay. In 1697 Salvatierra, at the head of a very small colony, founded the mission of Loreto. It survived, and others followed. With some interruptions, Salvatierra's labors in California lasted twenty years. His work was quite as remarkable as that of the better known Brébeuf in Canada.

For three-quarters of a century the Jesuits worked tenaciously in the difficult land. Then they were expelled. But around their missions, some fourteen in number, little settlements had taken root, and most of them survive to this day, monuments to the toil of Salvatierra and his fifty-three Jesuit companions and successors.

The book translated by Mrs. Wilbur was written by Miguel Venegas, S.J., compressed by Father Juan Antonio de Oviedo, and published in Mexico City in 1754, under the title "El Apostol Mariano Representado en la Vida del V. P. Juan María de Salvatierra", etc. Venegas, it seems, was never in California, but he wrote from records at the Jesuit centre in Mexico City. As an historical work the biography does not compare with the *Noticia de California* published under Venegas's name (but written largely by Burriel) in Madrid three years later. It is, however, an important work. It falls into three nearly equal parts, dealing respectively with Salvatierra's early life, his missionary work in Sonora

Sinaloa, and California, and his Christian virtues. Typical of a large class of eighteenth-century missionary biographies, it is highly eulogistic, being written rather for edification than as history.

Mrs. Wilbur has done her work well. Her brief introduction is adequate and interesting. With propriety she has regarded herself primarily as translator rather than as editor or biographer. The English style of the translation is excellent.

I have not looked for petty faults. If I note one small thing it is to warn translators of a pitfall into which others besides Mrs. Wilbur have fallen. By mis-translating *andar* many missionaries have been made to walk enormous distances. In one passage the book under review states that "Father Juan Maria . . . walked 38,000 leagues, many of them on foot, the rest riding on such inferior and uncomfortable animals that he was greatly fatigued". What Venegas said, of course, was that Father Salvatierra *travelled* 38,000 leagues. In the same way some of the many leagues walked by Father Serra were walked on a horse, a mule, or a boat. *Andar* sometimes means to walk; more often it means simply to *travel*.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

The Political Thought of Roger Williams. By James E. Ernst. [University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature.] (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1929, pp. 229, \$2.00.) "It is the purpose of this study to examine and evaluate the political ideas of Roger Williams, to show their relation to previous and contemporary conceptions of state, and to suggest their influence upon the governmental principles of the American nation and upon all representative governments" (p. 22). The task is a large one and the performance raises numerous questions of emphasis and direction. The technical approach adopted by Dr. Ernst gives us seven chapters devoted in turn to Roger Williams's life, his concept of state, the sovereignty, external relations, purpose, and activities of the state, and finally the limits of state power.

The particular method of presentation leads unfortunately to frequent repetition of substantially the same ideas, clothed in practically the same language. "Annual election of all officers", we learn (p. 71), "with a joint compulsory initiative and referendum, kept the legal sovereignty in absolute subjection to the majority of the people". (See also pp. 69, 80, 81, 167, 168, 172, 206; and in less degree pp. 127, 150, 170.)

A central point in Ernst's study is stated as follows: "The assumption made by practically all students of Williams, that his theory of state grew out of his principles of religious liberty and was a mere incidental by-product of it, must be put aside. His theory of religious liberty came, instead, out of his unique theory of the individual and the state" (pp. 24-25). The same notion is later repeated with appropriate emphasis (p. 73, note; p. 79). Just what, then, in Ernst's opinion, was Williams's conception of the individual and the state? The author frequently draws attention to Natural Law, laws of nature, English and Continental

corporation law, but the documentary evidence is scarcely adequate to support the conclusions. (See the *Narragansett Club Publications*, especially where cited by Ernst, p. 163, note 71; and p. 42, note 71). On page 157, note 45, and page 167, note 85, the phrase "*naturall & Civill Rights and Liberties*" receives a use that the context in the *Narragansett Club Publications* does not warrant. A quotation taken from the same documentary source (*N. C. P.* IV. 487) serves various purposes that do not square with the original context (see p. 45, note 86; p. 92, note 39; p. 135, note 53).

Referring to Hobbes, Dr. Ernst speaks of a "social compact between the ruled and the ruler" (p. 53), and elsewhere he says, "The king . . . is the third party to the contract . . ." (p. 174, with which should be compared p. 27). Machiavelli is classed with Aristotle and Harrington as opposed to absolutism (p. 121).

Finally a few mechanical errors may be noted. In the *Acknowledgment* Dr. Ernst uses *monogram* for *monograph*. For Maitland's famous translation, *The Political Theories of the Middle Age*, by Gierke, Dr. Ernst repeatedly uses the plural, *Ages*. Three works by Figgis are listed incorrectly in the bibliography. Other mechanical errors abound throughout the book.

ROBERT M. DUNCAN.

The Fur Trade and Early Western Exploration. By Clarence A. Vandiveer. (Cleveland, A. H. Clark, 1929, pp. 316, \$6.00.) Fairness to the author requires that in reviewing this volume, there be kept constantly in mind his own statement of his purpose in writing it. Mr. Vandiveer has sought to present, in brief compass, a comprehensive account of the fur trade in America, with especial emphasis upon its relation to exploration. He modestly says that he "does not claim to have brought to light any new facts, nor can he hope to have avoided all mistakes". What he has given us, therefore, is a somewhat rambling story, in which many familiar names and incidents appear. The treatment is distinctly episodical, there being little attempt at anything resembling a continuous or closely-knit narrative.

Chapters I. to XXIV. are concerned largely with the trading and exploring activities of individuals, ranging from Champlain to Kit Carson. There is some reference in passing, however, to the operations of the Hudson's Bay, Northwest, and American Fur Companies. The last four chapters, which are among the most interesting of all, describe the lives and methods of the traders in general. Mr. Vandiveer's thesis is that the early traders and trappers have not received the credit which is due them as explorers, and that in many cases the reward of fame has gone to those who followed them, whose deeds have been systematically exploited by the historians. The difficulty arises, of course, when one attempts to estimate the achievements of these earliest traders, who left few or no written records.

Mr. Vandiveer writes interestingly and from that viewpoint, the book is well worth reading. Its value to the historian of specialized interests is distinctly limited, however. There is no bibliography and only occasionally are the writer's sources mentioned in the text itself, though it is apparent that he has used the conventional secondary accounts, such as those of Parkman and Irving, together with the published original narratives of the traders and explorers themselves.

Many readers will be certain to dissent from some of Mr. Vandiveer's conclusions. It is difficult to accept the view, for instance, that the English colonies grew so rapidly as compared with the French, because their fur trade was unrestricted (p. 47). Unfortunately, the volume contains many errors, some of which may be merely typographical, but others of which appear to be more serious. In a single sentence on p. 121, the names of two partners of the Northwest Company are misspelled. On p. 61, we find "Diskeau" for "Dieskau" and other errors appear more frequently than they should. While the author's style is easy, it is uneven, and is in some cases marred by elementary mistakes in grammar. In these respects, the volume is decidedly below the usually high editorial standards represented by its publishers. Though there are several fine illustrations, not a single map appears. The economic basis of the fur trade, which the reviewer believes to be fundamental, no matter what aspect of the subject is being considered, is almost wholly passed over. Though intended obviously as a popular, rather than as a scholarly account, it would seem that the rather expensive format of the volume might prevent its being very widely read.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

The American Whaleman: a Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry. By Elmo Paul Hohman, Assistant Professor of Economics, Northwestern University. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 355, \$5.00.) An authoritative and comprehensive history of the American whaling industry has not yet been written. This volume is a study primarily of labor conditions and the economics of the whaling industry "by holding a mirror up to reality" (preface). The early history of whaling, both before the Revolution and in the first few decades after, is treated very briefly, the "Golden Era", 1830-1860, being the period chosen for intensive study.

Part I. gives a brief account of the early history of whaling. It represents very little original research and is largely a summary based on the better known secondary accounts. Part II. describes the life of the whaleman ashore and afloat. In part III. there is a short account of the decline of the whaling industry since the Civil War. The story of the development of whaling in the Arctic Ocean in this period is meagre and unsatisfactory.

The author gives a detailed account of the methods of enlisting the crew and there are accounts of the routine of life on shipboard, duties

of officers and men, discipline, fore-castle life, food, sickness, and diversions. The technique of whaling, kinds of whales, grounds, routes, "cruising", the chase, fight, and capture of the whales, and the joys and sorrows of the greatest, most dangerous, and most thrilling sport and business undertaken by man in modern times—all this makes entertaining reading.

This work, written by an economist, is put out in semi-popular form. It will not entirely satisfy the historian, because of the difficulty of verifying statements of fact and the lack of opportunity for determining how carefully the author has evaluated his evidence. He paints a dark picture of the moral standards of sailors, of their treatment by the captains and officers, and of the wage system by which the sailors were "fleeced" by the owners. The general conclusion is that whaling was a "sweated" industry, and so the owners were enabled to "wring profits" out of it.

Some of the evils portrayed were certainly much less prevalent after 1850. A somewhat intimate personal acquaintance with many of the men who were active in the whaling industry from 1850 to 1880, the Martha's Vineyard whalers, makes the reviewer feel that the picture given needs modification for this later period. As a study of the economics of whaling, within the period chosen, it represents much original research and sets forth the facts more completely and satisfactorily than any other account yet published.

MARCUS WILSON JERNEGAN.

Nord-Amerika im Urteil des Deutschen Schrifttums bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts: eine Untersuchung über Kürnbergers "Amerika-Müden". Von Hildegard Meyer. [Uebersee-Geschichte, herausgegeben von Adolf Rein, Band III.] (Hamburg, de Gruyter and Company, 1929, pp. vi, 166.) This monograph consists of two parts, the first presenting the views of German writers regarding the United States from the American Revolution to the middle of the nineteenth century. The second part gives an analysis of the "Amerika-Bild" in Ferdinand Kürnberger's once celebrated novel *Der Amerika-Müde*. There is a bibliography of German works, originals and translations, dealing with the United States and published in Germany before 1850.

The author has arranged her material according to a fruitful principle. The German views of America are presented as influenced by the political, historical, and philosophical views prevailing in Germany itself. The close connection between domestic conditions and the views concerning the United States is well brought out. In the eighteenth century the Germans, under the influence of rationalism, see in the founding of the new republic the highest triumph of human reason. The men of the Storm and Stress, though rejecting rationalism, are united with the rationalists in admiration for the new republic, for there they believe their ideals of liberty are about to be fulfilled. During the classical and romantic periods the interest in America waned, as the ideals of life had no connection with the new country, but with the rise of liberalism

after 1815 the interest again grew, especially as some of the best of the younger generation were forced to seek refuge in the United States. America was again looked upon by many as the home of liberty and constitutional government, where some of the youthful enthusiasts hoped to found a new Germany which would regenerate the old country. There was however another view which saw in America a land without culture, materialistic and devoid of higher ideals, a view which had support among some of the disappointed German emigrants. These views found their most consistent expression in Kürnberger's *Der Amerika-Müde*.

The bibliography is far from complete, especially in the eighteenth century. The author has her material well in hand, but the publicist, Francis Joseph Grund, was never professor at Harvard College. The style unfortunately is heavy and involved; much of the material in the foot-notes should have been worked into the body of the treatise.

JOHN A. WALZ.

The Development of the Flour-Milling Industry in the United States. By Charles Byron Kuhlmann, Ph.D., Professor of Economics in Hamline University. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, pp. xviii, 349, \$3.50.) This volume, a Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize essay, is a survey of the American flour-milling industry from its colonial beginnings to the present. The first hundred pages bring the story down to about 1870; the rest deals with the recent period, emphasizing developments in the Minneapolis region.

The main theme of the study is the rivalry of flour-milling and marketing centres, a rivalry which began between the local millers and urban centres in the colonial period and still continues, with Minneapolis, Buffalo, and Kansas City as the leaders. The factors conditioning milling success are analyzed. Business methods and milling technique are given much attention; the fundamental importance of physical factors is recognized. Many striking episodes in the history of milling are presented: the resort to public regulation in the colonies, the brilliant leadership of Oliver Evans in improving milling machinery late in the eighteenth century, the dramatic revolution in milling methods in Minnesota in the 1870's, and the appearance of powerful combinations at the end of the century. Through the shifting growth of milling centres is traced the emergence of the present capitalistic, large-scale, laboratory-directed industry, which markets its product in a highly competitive international market. The present problems and prospects of flour-milling in the United States are considered in connection with recent developments. With respect to the localization of the industry the author sees at present "two apparently contradictory tendencies, as a result of which the industry is being drawn westward into the wheat areas and also eastward toward the great consuming centers". "The struggle of the future", he says, "is likely to be between Buffalo, at the entrance to the chief consuming area in the United States, and Kansas City, the gateway of the chief wheat-growing area."

To write the history of an important American industry which had heretofore received only fragmentary attention, was no small task but one which the author has done well. Material for the study has been drawn judiciously from colonial account-books and port records and later manuscript sources, from government publications, newspapers, trade journals, and a miscellany of other printed material, and from interviews with millers. The book is carefully documented and contains a useful bibliography. Its organization is clear, and its economic interpretations are convincing. Indeed, a most significant feature of the book is the author's comprehension of the economic meaning of the intricate historical material with which he deals.

HENRIETTA LARSON.

Papers of Isaac Hull, Commodore United States Navy. Edited by Gardner Weld Allen. (Boston, Boston Athenaeum, 1929, pp. xii, 341.) The Isaac Hull Collection, which was acquired by the Boston Athenaeum in 1924, consists of letter-books, log-books, and more than two thousand letters and documents. From this collection Dr. Allen chose for publication 183 papers covering the years 1810-1841 (Hull's dates are 1773-1842), and also some extracts taken from log-books and other materials. The papers are printed with headings and signatures in full; and the extracts, as quotations in the text supplied by the editor. There are eight papers for the period prior to the War of 1812, and two for the period of the war. Three-fourths of the volume covers the four years 1838-1841, when Hull was in command of the Mediterranean Station, with the *Ohio* as his flagship. It is thus seen that relatively few papers relate to Hull's early years in the navy and to his distinguished service in the War of 1812.

The papers, most of which are addressed to Hull, consist largely of correspondence and reports relating to the routine work of the navy. They are almost exclusively official, and duplicates of many of them are in the Naval Archives in Washington, which apparently were not used by the editor, although he did use a few letters found in the Library of Congress, the Yale University Library, and elsewhere. He chose from the Hull Collection those papers that throw light on the character of Hull, those that illustrate life in the old navy, and those that possess human interest. His choice is an excellent one.

Most of the chapters of the book are introduced by descriptive materials containing biographical and explanatory information. Pieced together these make a connected biography of Hull, the best in existence, and the most extensive, since hitherto only brief sketches of his life had been published. A "Life" thus written is likely, however, to exaggerate the periods for which the papers are plentiful and to minimize those for which they are scarce. Chapter III., entitled the War of 1812, would bear much expansion. The volume is exceedingly valuable for its information relating to customs in the old navy. A clue to some of this may be found in the titles of the following chapters: the Officers of the

Squadron, Midshipmen, the Man before the Mast, Health and Sanitation, Port Mahon, a Riot in the Theatre, Discipline, and Impressment. The book is illustrated, chiefly by pictures of Hull and the ships commanded by him, and it contains an index. It is exceedingly well printed.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869. Translated and edited by Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collection, XXX.] (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928, pp. xx, 491.) Letters by distinguished men written during their youth have always attracted the attention of biographers and historians, not only on account of their intrinsic biographical value but also because they oftentimes furnish the clue to the understanding of the character and the later achievements of their authors. This is true especially of the present collection covering the time of Carl Schurz's German student days and that of his early manhood spent in America. Addressed to his parents, to fellow students and, finally, to his wife, we follow the mental development of the youth, his early literary aspirations, his sudden participation in the revolutionary events of 1848 and his subsequent flight to England, where he met and married his wife, a highly cultured young woman from Hamburg with whom he emigrated to America in 1852. Here he began, within a few years after his arrival, the political career which no newcomer either before or after him has rivalled.

What made Schurz's phenomenal rise to influence and position possible, he has indicated himself in a letter to his friend Petrasch, written after he had attained the position of major-general in the Union army. It was in the year 1856, he wrote, as the movement against slavery spread tremendously, that he found himself drawn into public life, and he added, "America is the country for striving talent, and the foreigner who studies conditions here thoroughly and knows how to appreciate them, can open for himself an even greater career than the native born. . . . I threw myself unreservedly into the anti-slavery movement and therein showed the Americans something new. The broad German conception of life (*Weltanschauung*) which opened to them wider horizons; the peculiar speech of the foreigner which, although modeled upon the best patterns of English literature, still indulged in a multitude of unfamiliar variations; the power of true conviction which is not found too often in its purity, all of these things had a rare attraction for Americans. . . ."

It is in his letters to his wife, which constitute the bulk of the present collection and are by far the most interesting and instructive, that we gain the deepest insight into the character of Schurz and the secret of his success: the innate idealism of his nature, balanced by a keen sense of reality, his uncompromising devotion to fixed principles, his unbounded ambition, and his childlike delight in his successes as a speaker and growing political influence. Indeed the late Joseph H. Choate was right when

in his memorial address he said of Schurz: "He was himself the choicest example of that splendid host of Germans who have enriched and strengthened and fertilized our native stock to produce that composite creature, the latest result of time, the blending of all the Caucasian races—the New American."

True to his fixed habit of using only his native tongue in his family circle, the letters, with but one or two exceptions, were all written in German. Their present excellent translation into English was made by their editor, Professor Joseph Schafer, who also has written a lucid and instructive preface to the collection. In only a few instances might the English translation be improved upon, as in the case of the German word *Spektakel* (p. 229), which should be rendered by "noise" or "din" and not by spectacle. The expression "in God's name" (p. 223) reads in the German original undoubtedly *um Gottes willen* and should, therefore, be translated "for God's sake". The omission in the index of the Christian names of certain persons such as Kapp, Heinzen, Gögg, and others, can easily be corrected in a future edition.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

The Lineage of Abraham Lincoln. By William E. Barton. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929, pp. 419, \$7.50.) In the *Lineage of Lincoln*, Dr. William E. Barton has contributed a considerable number of new documents to his already large collection of the archives of everybody related to Lincoln. His most curious find is Lincoln's descent from a colonial Virginia family by the name of Lee. Dr. Barton is within one link of establishing a connection with the great Lees. But one link, as in the famous case of the gentleman who did not marry the lady simply because she refused him, is sometimes important. For the most part a solid piece of work, the book at times wanders into gossip.

Hood's Tennessee Campaign. By Thomas Robson Hay. (New York, Walter Neale, 1929, pp. 272, \$3.00.) Mr. Hay has given us a model of research and criticism in a book of some 200 pages of narrative and 162 pages of notes in addition, which furnish references to every important statement in the main account. In the latter the reviewer will perhaps miss Owsley's *Defeatism in the Confederacy* and will not be impressed by the newspaper criticism of Davis which reminds one of the attacks which came near to ruining the career of Lee after the West Virginia campaign.

The author has removed much of the fog of war which has so persistently hung over Hood's campaign. We still wonder how an inferior army marching on a muddy country road came so near to interposing two army corps between the divided fractions of a superior force marching for a shorter distance on a good turnpike.

Perhaps the best explanation is that the greatest soldier of the day failed at Gettysburg in much the same way with an untrained staff, verbal orders of which no record was kept and no receipt required.

-As the systematic issue of field orders had not been adopted by the military world of that day it is perhaps a mistake for historians to give too much criticism for their absence.

The condition of the road may also account for the absence of Hood's artillery at important times of the campaign. At Gettysburg the opportunity of enfilading the position on Cemetery Hill was not taken by Ewell. Similar advantages seem to have been offered to Hood at Franklin and Nashville.

An army commander has a number of the larger units which he must keep in view and it is a mistake if he burdens himself with the conduct of the small ones. At Spring Hill this seems to have been the cause of Hood's failure.

The author justly condemns the policy of giving the command of a great army to a general so badly crippled by wounds as Hood. A similar case may be quoted in the case of Ewell who was given the command of Stonewall Jackson's Corps.

The book is illustrated with four maps. Of these that of the battle of Spring Hill is about the best that has been published, although the printer does not seem to have done it justice.

The official reports of the best men must sometimes be examined with care. As an instance we quote from page 84. "At 11:30 a.m. the head of the 2d Division under General Wagner, was within two miles of Spring Hill." . . . "Wagner's division was at once double-quickened into Spring Hill, the leading brigade (Opdyke's) arriving about 12:30 p.m." On a turnpike road that would have been a rather slow walk.

EBEN SWIFT.

Covered Wagon Days. Edited from the private journals of Albert Jerome Dickson by Arthur Jerome Dickson. (Cleveland, A. H. Clark Company, 1929, pp. 287, \$6.00.) Two aspects of this volume compel attention—its uniqueness in historical method and the array of talent that was utilized in its production. In form it is the journal of a boy, left fatherless by the Civil War, and forced to be a man before his time. In 1864, Albert Jerome Dickson, then fourteen years of age, accompanied a neighboring family from La Crosse, Wisconsin, by the Overland Trail to southwestern Montana. It was a region more notable for mining camps, road agents' crimes and vigilantes' methods than for pioneer farmers. None-the-less Dickson's friends were pioneer farmers. They acquired land and went to work, and hostile Indians and more cruel white brigands. In 1866 young Dickson returned to Wisconsin (via Missouri River steamboats). The lure of the West possessed him. He homesteaded in Nebraska, freighted on the Pierre, traded with Indians and ranchers in the Dakotas, and finally happily settled with a growing family in northern Wyoming. He was living at the time this book was written. A son, Arthur Jerome Dickson, himself with wide experience from travel and study and a lifetime in the same general region, is the

editor. The Dicksons in collaboration with other pioneers, historians and literary advisers, have compiled a composite journal of the boyhood adventure of the elder. Some of the material is taken from original journals and papers, some is plainly old-age reminiscences. The analysis of the sources is a fascinating problem. No foot-notes or bibliographical aids dissect the narrative. For others than the professional reviewer the unique historical method is its strength. It should be said that the editor has taken counsel wisely. The weakness of the journal of a boy and the reminiscences of an elderly man have been corrected. Somebody has imagination, appreciation of natural beauty, and literary ability, for the story abounds in evidence of these much to be desired qualities. At times the journal ceases to be what it pretends to be—a contemporary narrative—and becomes a secondary account of events remote from Dickson's experiences. As a history of the establishment of law and order in Montana the book has no particular value. As a painstaking account in the minutest details of daily life of the drivers of the covered wagons, of the roads by which travellers reached the new frontier, and of the farmers who were to be the real builders of a new commonwealth in an important period of American history, *Covered Wagon Days* is a work of great merit. It is refreshingly far more considerate of the point of view of the Indian than such works usually are.

ELBERT J. BENTON.

Commonwealth History of Massachusetts. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Government, Harvard University. Volume III, 1775-1820. (New York, States History Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 582.) The third volume of Hart's coöperative history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts covers the important period from 1775 to 1820 and sustains the promise of a reliable and popular history shown in the first two volumes. Eleven chapters are devoted to the Revolution, three to the formation of the federal Constitution, and five to the general activities of the state after 1789. With the exception of two chapters written by Louis C. Hatch (V. and XIX.), each chapter claims a separate collaborator. It is quite apparent that the editor carefully selected the chapter-headings and organized the subdivisions before the facts were assembled and put in literary form. The result is a well-balanced narrative with a continuity and a unity usually lacking in coöperative regional histories.

One is impressed, also, with the use of new materials and the up-to-date interpretations which differentiate this work from the older histories of Massachusetts. For instance, the naval history of the Old Bay State in the Revolution and in the War of 1812; the military history, the Loyalists, the social life, and the economic development are treated distinctly and fully. John Adams is the only statesman of these forty-five years who is given a chapter by himself. Perhaps the outstanding chapters in the volume are: chapter IV. on Massachusetts and Independency, by John

Henry Edmonds, who traces the growth of the separatist spirit from 1629 to 1780 in a masterly manner; and chapter XII. on Economic and Commercial Conditions, by Davis Rich Dewey, who discusses finance, prices, taxation, duties, debts, land sales, labor, industries, and banking from 1765 to 1784.

An illustration of the impartial spirit of the book is shown in the frank acknowledgment in chapter V. on the military history that John Adams and Samuel Adams, despite their denials, were not wholly free from the suspicion of having countenanced the movement to replace Washington with Gates. No mention is made of the conspicuous participation of Massachusetts men in the Sullivan-Clinton campaign. The treatment of the Loyalists in chapter IX. by Lawrence Shaw Mayo is discerning, but more attention might have been given to the machinery devised to deal with them. Chapter XI. on Massachusetts Women of the Revolution by Kathleen Bruce is well done, and includes Deborah Sampson who joined the Continental Army at West Point in 1782, and served eighteen months before her sex was discovered. After her death in 1827 her husband, who had no service record, applied for a pension on the ground that he was the "relict" of a Revolutionary soldier! The advocacy of nullification in the Hartford Convention, 1814-1815, is discussed by Clifford Chesley Hubbard in an unbiassed chapter (XV.) on State Government.

Taking the volume as a whole, it is a substantial contribution from able pens. The repetition is no more than is necessary for connected explanation. The bibliographies accompanying each volume, while not exhaustive, yet are full, discriminating, and arranged alphabetically. The 42 maps, portraits, reproductions of manuscripts and broadsides, buildings, and scenes add to the attractiveness of the book. The publishers deserve commendation for their part of the work. One might suggest that a separate chapter should have been devoted to schools, colleges, libraries, newspapers, literature, and art instead of scattering them through several chapters. Transportation, churches, inland communities, and agriculture might well have received more attention. A standard has been set which, no doubt, other states will follow.

A. C. FLICK.

Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswyck, and Schenectady, 1675-1680. Translated and edited by A. J. F. Van Laer, Archivist, Division of Archives and History, University of the State of New York. Volume II. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1928, pp. 530.) The period covered by this volume was a critical one. The French were laboring to convert the Iroquois, and were consolidating their hold over the West. There were controversies with the New Englanders over the sale of arms to King Philip's Indians, and with the governments of Maryland and Virginia concerning the depredations of the Iroquois upon their frontiers. Of these difficulties this volume con-

tains some echoes, but the impression produced is that the settlers of Albany were chiefly intent upon preserving and extending their monopoly of the fur trade, and concerned themselves little with matters of *haute politique*.

Such matters were left largely to the governor and council. The governor at this time was Edmund Andros, upon whose first administration in America these records throw some light. They strengthen the impression that he was a capable and energetic official, but quick to take offense, and with a soldier's idea of the duty of obedience. Andros gave much attention to Albany affairs. He confirmed and extended the Albany monopoly of the Indian trade; he defined the powers of the local governing board of commissaries. His assertion, as against both the French and the other English colonies, of the principle that the Iroquois were dependents of New York, to be dealt with only through that government, marks an epoch in the development of New York's Indian policy. Hence the beginning of the practice of holding intercolonial Indian conferences at Albany, which dates from this period.

These records also show the mingling of Dutch and English institutions in New York, the relations of the Albany commissaries to the higher provincial authorities, and the use by these Dutch officers of the jury trial, sometimes, apparently, in a manner not quite in accord with orthodox English practice. Above all here is a mine of information for the student of social history. From this, and the preceding volumes, one could construct a picture of late seventeenth-century Albany, its economic activities, its pleasures and recreations, its neighborhood quarrels, its misdemeanors and crimes, the characteristics of many of its inhabitants, the importance of women in the business life of the town. Here is also material for a valuable study of the life of an essentially Dutch and frontier town, which might profitably be compared with that of some English colonial community.

A. H. BUFFINTON.

County Government and Administration in North Carolina. By Paul Woodford Wager, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Rural Social-Economics, University of North Carolina. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1928, pp. xiv, 447, \$5.00.) Most studies of actual government in the United States have dealt with the nation, the state, or the city. Recently the importance of the county, in all except the New England group of states, has been realized, and Professor Wager's study of how county government in North Carolina actually functions is a venture into a field not yet thoroughly covered.

The county in North Carolina has an interesting history. The Lords Proprietors intended to cut out eight "counties palatine", one for each of them, but only a beginning was made. The precincts of the original counties became themselves the counties in 1738, and the county court, composed of all the justices of the peace, became the governing body. This system persisted until 1868.

The Reconstruction Constitution of 1868 borrowed the system of county commissioners from Pennsylvania, and introduced the township as a body corporate. When the native-born whites secured control, instead of wiping out the whole article, a section was added which gave to the general assembly "full power by statute, to modify, change or abrogate any or all of the provisions of the article", except three dealing with the power of contracting debts. Every session of the assembly since has tinkered with county government, either by general laws or special acts.

The result is a maze through which the author picks his way. There are chapters on the county commissioners, the assessment and collection of taxes, fiscal control, public highways, the administration of justice, the public schools, public welfare, and the minor offices of the county. In every chapter, the problem is analyzed, the powers and duties of the officials charged with administering the statutes are clearly stated, and an estimate is made of the degree of efficiency usually attained. For example, tax assessors, tax collectors, treasurers, auditors, road commissioners, justices of the peace, county clerks, sheriffs, and all the others are subjected to scrutiny, and a clear picture of the actual situation emerges. There is a good index, and the table of contents is analytical.

In a final chapter entitled *Efficiency in County Government*, Professor Wager states his conclusions. On the whole they are not devastating. "In a few particulars, notably in tax collecting and fiscal management, North Carolina counties have been flagrantly lax. On the other hand they have been singularly free from some of the abuses which have characterized county government in other states. Neither have they been the victims of wholesale corruption. The evils which have existed have been, for the most part, the products of a loose, disjointed system, manned by well-meaning but incompetent officials."

North Carolina is still a rural state. In only six counties is the population half urban, even according to the liberal census definition, and a majority of the commissioners is almost invariably chosen from the rural districts. Meanwhile the state has been growing richer, and taxes have increased enormously in amount. In some counties an enlightened minority has taken advantage of the permissive legislation and achieved a considerable degree of administrative unity. Apparently, however, both a new general county government act, and considerable education of public opinion will be necessary to cure the common evils. In this connection it is interesting to note that a citizen has provided a fund to place several copies of the book in every court house in the state.

HOLLAND THOMPSON.

Illinois College: a Centennial History, 1829-1929. By Charles Henry Rammelkamp, President of Illinois College. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1928, pp. xvi, 605, \$7.50.) Dr. Rammelkamp has long been one of the patrons and sponsors of the local history of his state, as

well as an aggressive, though modest, educator. He has long realized the more than local importance of the history of the institution over which he presides. For Illinois College, in an early day, represented a religious as well as cultural link between the fertile prairies of the "Sucker State" and the rocky soil of New England. "Old Illinois" was the gift to the West of those earnest young sons of "Old Eli" of the eighteen-twenties who came to be known as the "Yale Band"—seven young crusaders who essayed to relieve "the destitute condition of the western section of our country" by "energetic measures upon the part of the friends of religion and literature in the older states". It was no easy task that they attempted. Those who joined the staff of the new college had to be willing both to draw in their belts another notch during the lean years and to play the rôle of solicitors for funds to continue its often precarious existence. But always there was vitality in the venture. The college was an outpost of human freedom in a region extensively settled by persons of Southern birth and tradition. Members of the faculty played a notable rôle in the anti-slavery cause, although on a few occasions they overreached themselves when they tried to muzzle members of the student body who insisted upon voicing their protests against anti-slavery "fanaticism".

Dr. Rammekamp has successfully exploited the archives of the college and other available materials. It is an interesting pageant that moves before one: the self-sacrificing idealism of Theron Baldwin, Julian M. Sturtevant, Edward Beecher, and their associates; college life in a quiet Illinois town; religious strife; repercussions of politics and of the slavery controversy, which proved to be one of the most serious obstacles to the progress of the college; civil war and empty halls and class-rooms—through it all an abiding faith in the work of the college and in its future. All this and the more familiar and prosy tale of latter-day collegiate education are preserved for us in these pages. There is little embellishment and no attempt at fine writing, but the cause of education and history is rendered an important service by such a study.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

Sir Charles Bagot in Canada: a Study in British Colonial Government. By G. P. de T. Glazebrook. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. viii, 160, \$2.50.) The responsibility of a colonial ministry to a colonial assembly, the foundation-stone of today's "dominion status", became an accomplished fact in the 1840's. Bagot's brief but significant part in the developments by which it did so is here for the first time described with the fullness that its importance deserves.

A chapter is devoted to his earlier career, partly in view of the absence of any satisfactory sketch of his life, and partly as a basis for understanding his work as governor general. As Britain's first minister at Washington after the War of 1812 he helped to negotiate naval disarmament on the Great Lakes. At St. Petersburg and at the Hague he

added to his diplomatic laurels. In choosing him for the Canadian post the British government hoped that he might assist in improving Anglo-American relations. Ashburton, as it turned out, hardly needed his aid in that task. Nevertheless, the diplomatic rather than parliamentary nature of his earlier career proved a most fitting preparation for coping with the political problem in Canada.

After setting forth briefly but clearly the essentials of the tangled Canadian scene which confronted him, the author recounts the circumstances which led Bagot, somewhat reluctantly, to draw into the executive council the principal radical reformers, both French and English, thus setting up a ministry that enjoyed the confidence of a majority in the assembly. The significance of this policy is then discussed in the light of British and colonial opinion and of later events.

Bagot's letters and despatches, "because they are written with unusual charm and understanding", are freely quoted, and his two most important despatches, really brilliant state papers, are printed, with one of Stanley's, in an appendix. The volume is a scholarly and important contribution to the literature of Canadian and Imperial history.

REGINALD G. TROTTER.

Canada and the United States. By Hugh L. Keenleyside, Ph.D. (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1929, pp. xxi, 396, xlii, \$3.25.) This volume, well written and supplied with foot-note references and an excellent index, is by a well informed Canadian who has studied and taught in the United States, and has recently been appointed third secretary of the Canadian Department of External Affairs where his duties are chiefly on United States relations. In presenting in convenient form the materials of his book his aim is a deeper critical insight which should guide international understanding. The scope indicated by the title of this volume is limited by the subtitle *Some Aspects of the History of the Republic and the Dominion*. A different arrangement of several of the topics after 1815, upon a chronological or sequential basis, might have proven advantageous. Certainly a more logical location could have been found for the topics in the chapter on minor boundary disputes.

Several omissions are noticeable: the Agreement of 1817 for limitation of armaments on the lakes (a large factor in peaceful relations); the strategy of railways affecting commercial policies; the statistics of the development of trade and commerce before 1868; and the problem of the destiny of the Red River region in the decade before 1870. A few minor errors appear. Maine had no separate governor in 1812. Goldwin Smith's first name had no "y" in it. In a foot-note (p. 143) the date 1891 should be 1896.

Dr. Keenleyside's methods of original research are scholarly. In his task he has faced difficulties of selection and elimination resulting from a plenitude of materials. In weighing materials relating to incidents which have been subjects of debate or controversy he has shown a spirit of well balanced fairness. The rather copious foot-note refer-

ences indicate the nature and extent of his research which has been largely in secondary authorities and newspaper files and various other printed materials. For the period before 1845 (and especially before 1815) he has drawn upon the Canadian manuscript archives. In the presentation of conditions and opinions more attention is given to Canada where public opinion until recently has been extremely sensitive to American conditions.

The author, although he recognizes economic causes as predominantly responsible for controversies and hostile feeling, and as factors influencing Canadian policies and national development, attributes more than casual importance to the influence of the emigrant Loyalists (Tories) of the American Revolution as a prominent factor in the founding of Canada and at every period of Canadian crisis—in trade movements, in diplomacy, and in politics. He holds the Canadian opinion that British diplomacy cost Canada territory in boundary disputes.

Of particular interest is the treatment of the recent overflow of American capital into Canadian investments which in form and value tend to strengthen the ties of common interest. Referring to the wide extent of American influence in every aspect of Canadian life, he says that the United States is the only country in which Canadians are vitally interested, while to the United States Canada is but one of the many foreign states in which it has an equal interest.

The book should promote an intelligent comprehension of the problems which have resulted from growth and westward expansion of the two nations with the longest commercial boundary line in the world and will doubtless perform an international service of much importance by contributing to the future of mutual understanding and peaceful self-respect.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The American Historical Association and the Board of Editors of this *Review* are under deep obligation to Professor Dana C. Munro for his self-sacrificing consent in an emergency to assume the Managing Editorship for the year from July 1, 1928, to June 30, 1929. The work was carried on under considerable physical strain, university duties requiring weekly journeys between Washington and Princeton. The year of his editorship will remain of marked significance in the history of the *Review*.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on December 30, 31, and January 1. The first day's session will be held at the Washington Duke Hotel, Durham, the headquarters of the meeting (except the presidential address by Mr. James Harvey Robinson, which will be delivered in the auditorium of Duke University), that of the second day at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and that of January 1 at Duke University, Durham. The chairman of the committee on local arrangements is Mr. R. L. Flowers, treasurer of Duke University, the vice-chairman is Mr. R. B. House, the executive secretary of the University of North Carolina, and the secretary is Professor W. T. Laprade of Duke University. Societies meeting jointly with the Association are the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural Historical Society, and the History of Science Society. There will also be a conference of Historical Societies.

The programme of the Association, prepared by a committee of which Professor W. K. Boyd of Duke University is chairman, is now practically complete and will be issued shortly. Its principal feature is the limitation of the papers of each section to three, followed in each case by a discussion opened by an assigned leader, and the correlation of the papers as far as possible around some central theme. Thus the papers in the field of ancient history will centre around conditions in the later Greek world, those in medieval history will treat of heresy and persecution, followed in a session on the Renaissance by a discussion of toleration; and the central theme in American colonial history will be British policy and opinion, that in a session on national history in the first half of the nineteenth century the Jacksonian Democracy, and the economic and social trends of the New South will be the general subject in the section on recent American history. A similar policy has been followed in the sessions on modern European history and Hispanic-American history. The policy adopted at the Indianapolis meeting of having certain sessions with only one paper has also been adopted in two instances. A

session devoted to American social history will have but one paper, that by Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, his subject being the Content and Scope of American Social History, which will be followed by a discussion opened by Professor J. G. Randall. Likewise the session on American foreign policy will have but one paper, a presentation by Professor Carl R. Fish of Fields of Research in American Foreign Relations, followed also by a discussion.

PERSONAL

Léon Gustave Schlumberger, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, whose works upon Byzantine history, especially his *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, did much to further Byzantine studies, died on May 9 at the age of 84.

On May 16, Roger Lambelin, editor of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, died at the age of 72. His career was of unusual interest. A soldier, he had fought in Tonkin and during the World War. As an ardent defender of Catholic and royalist traditions he was for a short time head of the political bureau of the Duke of Orleans. He came under the influence of the Marquis de Beaucourt, who founded the *Revue*, and it was he who revived it after the war and became its editor.

Lord Roseberry, who died on May 25, is perhaps best remembered as an historian through his *Napoleon: the Last Phase*. It has now been issued in a popular edition (London, Jonathan Cape, "The Traveller's Library"). While Chancellor of the University of London he gave effective support to the Institute of Historical Research.

Alice Stopford (Mrs. J. R.) Green died on May 28. Aside from her work as editor of her husband's *Conquest of England* and his *Short History of the English People*, she wrote the volume on *Henry II.* in the series *Twelve English Statesmen, Town Life in the Fifteenth Century, The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, History of the Irish State*, and other works on Ireland. The latter part of her life, as suggested by the titles of these books, was devoted to the revival of interest in the history of her own people. She was president of the Historical Association from 1915 to 1918. It should be remembered that by her invitation, and with materials largely furnished by her, Leslie Stephen prepared the delightful *Letters of J. R. Green*.

The last minister of foreign affairs of the Dual Monarchy, Count Julius Andrassy, died in Buda-Pest on June 11 at the age of 69. He was the author of several works, the most recent being *Bismarck and Andrassy*, published in 1924 and reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.* (XXXIII. 120). This dealt with the career of his more distinguished father.

Many American scholars who have worked in the French National Archives will learn with deep regret the death on June 25, at the age of 66, of the director, the distinguished historian Charles Victor Langlois. The *Introduction to the Study of History*, in which he collaborated with

Professor Charles Seignobos, is widely known in this country. His principal historical work was the volume on *St. Louis, Philippe le Bel, les Derniers Capétiens Directs*, which is part 2 of volume III. of Lavissee, *Histoire de France*. More recently he has published four volumes on *La Vie en France au Moyen Age*, the last volume of which is reviewed on p. 155 of this Review. To bibliography he contributed his *Archives de l'Histoire de France* (in collaboration with H. Stein) and *Manuel de Bibliographie Historique*. He also published two volumes of collected essays, *Questions d'Histoire et d'Enseignement* and a richly illustrated volume on *Les Hôtels de Clisson et de Rohan-Soubise au Marais*.

Professor Hans Delbrück, of the University of Berlin, historian and publicist, died on July 14 at the age of 80. He was educated at Heidelberg, Greifswald, and Bonn, served in the Franco-Prussian War as a lieutenant, was for several years a member of the Reichstag and a privy councillor, and was for a long period editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. His most notable historical works were a biography of Gneisenau and a *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der Politischen Geschichte* in several volumes, the publication of which began in 1900. Since the Great War he has written on the question of responsibilities and upon military questions.

Pietro Egidi, editor of the *Rivista Storica Italiana* and professor of modern history in the University of Turin, died on August 1 at the age of 57. He had written important works on the history of Viterbo, on the Saracen colonies of Lucera, on the abbey of Subiaco, and on medieval Rome. At Turin he had devoted himself for more than ten years to Italian history and he is responsible for studies on the uprisings of 1821, for a recent volume on Emanuele Filiberto, and for a collection of documents on Savoyard history drawn from the Spanish archives.

Professor Thorstein B. Veblen, the economist, author of *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and several other works of social interpretation, died at Menlo Park, Calif., on August 3. He had been a member of the faculty of economics at the University of Chicago, Stanford University, and the University of Missouri. From 1896 to 1905 he was managing editor of the *Journal of Political Economy*. In 1918 he became a lecturer at the New School for Social Research.

Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, distinguished publicist, died in New York on August 24 at the age of 72. He had held chairs of political economy at Indiana University and at Cornell University, and at the time of his death was research professor of government and public administration at New York University. He was also president of the Alexander Hamilton Institute. He served on various Federal commissions and his advice was sought by the Chinese government in 1903 on monetary questions. In 1922 he was called to Germany to study the problem of the stabilization of the mark. He was a prolific writer on economic, governmental, and educational problems.

We note the following promotions or appointments: *Yale University*, Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan, to be professor of American history, Laurence B. Packard, of Amherst College, and Dixon R. Fox, of Columbia University, to be visiting professors, Oliver B. Elsbree, of Bucknell University, to be assistant professor; *University of Syracuse*, Ralph V. Harlow, of Yale University, to be professor and head of the department of history; *University of Virginia*, Oron J. Hale to be assistant professor; *University of South Carolina*, W. H. Callcott to be professor; *Miami University*, Carroll B. Malone, on temporary appointment at the University of Illinois, to be associate professor; *Ohio State University*, Loren C. MacKinney, of Louisiana State University, to be visiting professor, Francis P. Weisenburger and Eugene H. Roseboom to be assistant professors; *Denison University*, W. T. Utter, of Eureka College, to be professor and head of the department, H. A. DeWeerd of Wittenberg to be assistant professor; *University of Illinois*, Joseph W. Swain to be associate professor; *University of Chicago*, H. F. MacNair to be professor of Far Eastern history, A. O. Craven to be professor of American history, and Bessie L. Pierce to be associate professor; *University of Minnesota*, T. C. Blegen to be associate professor, Alice F. Tyler, William McDonald, and Ernest S. Osgood to be assistant professors; *University of Wisconsin*, Delos Otis to be assistant professor; *University of Iowa*, C. W. DeKiewiet, of the University of London, and H. J. Thornton to be assistant professors; *Coe College*, Nelson Vance Russell, of the University of California, to be professor and head of the department; *Northern Arizona State Teachers College*, Thomas P. Oakley, formerly visiting professor at Florida State College for Women, to be head of the department; *Stanford University*, E. L. Harvey, of the University of Minnesota, to be acting professor; *University of Southern California*, Erik M. Erikssen, of Coe College, to be associate professor.

The Social Science Research Council has made the following grants in aid for 1929-1930: A. L. P. Dennis, Clark University, British history, 1880-1914; L. H. Gipson, Lehigh University, a study of the relations of England and France between the years 1748 and 1754; F. M. Green, University of North Carolina, a life of General Duff Green: a study in the politics, diplomacy, and industrial development of the Old South; K. R. Greenfield, Yale University, a study of the economic background of the movements of thought and political agitation that led to the unification of Italy; C. L. Grose, Northwestern University, a bibliography of British history, 1660-1760; J. B. Hedges, Clark University, the land settlement and colonization work of the land grant railways of the United States and Canada; Annie H. Abel-Henderson, University of Kansas, development of British native policy, particularly in the period previous to 1867; L. K. Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles, a history of the American colonial frontier; W. T. Morgan, Indiana University, the colonial and commercial aspects of the negotiations at

Utrecht, 1711-1713; W. A. Morris, University of California, a study of government in England, 1300-1485, as shown by the county court and the activities of the sheriff; F. L. Nussbaum, University of Wyoming, investigation of the influence of business men on the political action of French governments from 1788 to 1799; F. L. Owsley, Vanderbilt University, history of Confederate diplomacy; R. N. Richardson, Simmons University, a history of the Comanche Indians, 1820-1875; J. L. Sellers, University of Wisconsin, the extinction of the "Credit Class" in the South, 1860-1870; A. T. Volwiler, Wittenberg College, bibliography of President Benjamin Harrison, the editing of a series of volumes of the important documents in the Harrison papers in the Library of Congress; A. S. Walker, Dalhousie University, the English occupation of Calais. The applications for grants during the year 1930-1931 should be made before Feb. 1, 1930.

Among those to whom American field service fellowships were awarded for 1929-1930 are: Frank Monaghan, assistant editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, to complete a study on American social history as recorded by French travellers, and Eric P. Jackson, of the Graduate School, the University of Chicago, to work at L'Institut de Géographie Alpine at Grenoble under Professor Raoul Blanchard.

The following additional leaves of absence may be noted: *Yale University*, K. R. Greenfield for the first half year to pursue studies indicated above, Leonard Labaree for the year to be visiting professor at the University of Durham in England; *Columbia University*, W. R. Shepherd for a further period on account of ill health; *University of Pennsylvania*, A. E. McKinley for the first semester, H. V. Ames for the second semester, W. W. Hyde to be in residence after return from leave for the second semester of last year; *Northwestern University*, C. L. Grose for the first semester to pursue studies indicated above at the Widener Library and the Library of Congress.

At the close of the last academic year Edward Channing retired from active teaching at Harvard and resigned the McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History. He began to teach at Harvard in 1883, and had been professor of history since 1897, McLean Professor since 1913. Professor William S. Ferguson has been elected to the McLean chair.

The making of photocopies of European materials for American history for the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress continues at a high rate of production. During the spring and summer work has been going on in London, Paris, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, and Scandinavia. The production has often amounted in the sum total to nearly or quite 2000 sheets a day. Professor Samuel F. Bemis closed his two years of supervision of this work in Europe at the end of August, and was succeeded by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, who is engaged for the next three years as European representative of the

Library. Similar work of photographic reproduction began in Mexican archives at the end of June, in the hands of Professor France V. Scholes of the University of Mexico, and in Ottawa archives in September.

Dr. Marcel Aubert, associate curator, department of Sculpture at the Louvre, is expected to lecture at Harvard University in October, November, and December of this year on "La Formation et l'épanouissement de l'Art Gothique Religieux en France".

Dr. Alexander Pogo, of the Yerkes Observatory, has been appointed, by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Fellow in the History of Science. He will work in the Harvard Library under the direction of Dr. George Sarton.

Professor Dumas Malone, of the University of Virginia, has been added to the editorial staff of the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Dr. F. S. Rodkey, recently of Miami University, now Associate Professor at the University of Illinois, has been awarded the Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1929, for a paper on "Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1839-1841". This is the first time the prize has been awarded to an American scholar.

Marguerite M. McKee, who has rendered valuable service for four years as editorial assistant on this *Review*, has become assistant professor of history in Wells College. Her position on the *Review* is taken by Janet M. Woodburn, who has recently been engaged in research in France.

GENERAL

General review: Charles Guignebert, *Histoire des Religions* (Revue Historique, May); F. Cabrol, *Courrier de Langue Anglaise, Angleterre et Amérique* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Marc Bloch, *Méthode de l'Histoire Économique* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, April).

In the *Catholic Historical Review* for July is a careful study of the late Ludwig von Pastor, the Historian of the Popes, by Felix Fellner, O.S.B. In Bossuet and the Gallican Declaration of 1682, Alfred Barry, O.S.F.C., presents a severely critical discussion of the Assembly of the Clergy and seeks not only to state Bossuet's relation to it, but also to define his attitude upon the principal questions with regard to papal authority which then seemed to agitate the French church. The early misfortunes of the L'Enfant plan for Washington at the hands of local proprietors, especially Daniel Carroll of Duddington and Notley Young, is the subject of the Washington Carrolls and Major L'Enfant, by Elizabeth S. Kite.

In *Agricultural History* for April Professor Earle D. Ross's article on Lincoln and Agriculture shows that Lincoln can not be counted among the dirt farmers. Lincoln wrote to Speed in 1842, "I have no farm, nor

ever expect to have, and consequently have not studied the subject enough to be much interested in it". The purpose of the article is to define Lincoln's relation to the establishment of a new department with a commissioner at its head, and his attitude, or lack of attitude, upon the Homestead Act and the Morrill Act. An article by Professor St. George L. Sioussat describes another important phase in the history of the American land question, the Breakdown of the Royal Management of Lands in the Southern Provinces, 1773-1775.

Among the articles in the *Journal of Negro History*, vol. XIV., no. 3 (July, 1929), is the Work of the Relief Societies during the Civil War, by G. K. Eggleston. This touches the interesting problem of the fate of thousands of slaves suddenly displaced from the traditional framework of their existence by the advance of the Northern armies. It is curious to note the multitudes of organizations which, prompted by various motives, undertook to deal with the problem, and to see how they duplicated one another's activities and wasted a good deal of the money collected.

The Library of Congress has issued the *List of Doctoral Dissertations Printed in 1927*, edited by Mary W. MacNair, the theses on history appearing on pp. 156-157 [Washington, Superintendent of Public Documents, 30 cents].

Eduard Meyer og de historiske Problemer [Eduard Meyer and the problems of history], by Kay Schmidt-Phiseldeck (Aarhus, 1929, pp. 158), is in part a general discussion of the problems of historical research and interpretation and in part a study of Eduard Meyer's labors in the field of history, of his method, his outlook, and his point of view. It seems to be the author's intention to publish a series of studies of this sort, each devoted to some outstanding representative of the historical profession.

Among the topics considered in the *Survey of International Affairs, 1927*, by Arnold J. Toynbee, assisted by V. M. Boulter, and issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London, Oxford University Press, 1929, 24 s.), are the Disarmament Naval Conference at Geneva, the Fascist régime in Italy, conditions in Russia and the Russian relations to the Kuomintang party in China. The editor regards the Fascist policy as much more moderate in fact than would be forecast by the words of Mussolini.

Among the papers of interest in *America and Europe: and Other Essays*, by Alfred Zimmern (New York, Oxford University Press, 1929), is the essay on "The Scholar in Public Affairs", which is an appreciation of the career of George Louis Beer, and originally appeared in a memorial volume published five years ago.

Problems of Peace: Third Series (New York, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. ix, 324, \$3.50) contains the lectures delivered at the

Geneva Institute of International Relations in August, 1928. One which attracted considerable attention at the time was "Disarmament, the Rôle of the Anglo-Saxon Nations", by Professor Salvador de Madariaga, former chief of the Disarmament Section of the League of Nations Secretariat. It will be recalled that he laid the failure of disarmament proposals to Great Britain and the United States.

The well-known manual, which since 1862 has been known as Fr. Ueberweg's *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, consists in its present form of five parts, published in five volumes, compiled by a group of competent specialists. Vol. II. of the 11th edition, revised, deals with *Die Patristische und Scholastische Philosophie* and has been entrusted to B. Geyer, the distinguished medievalist of Bonn. Dr. Geyer has embodied here the fruit of the extensive research of the last fifteen years and has produced what is said to be the best existing manual of the subject (Berlin, Mittler, 1928, pp. xviii, 826). Vols. I., III., IV., have reached the 12th edition.

War in World-History, by Andrew Reid Cowan (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1929, pp. 120, \$2.40), is made up of reflections on the historical development of mankind, with the consequences of man's predatory instincts as the guiding thought. The author begins by remarking that man is distinguished from brute creation not only by his tool-making abilities but "by his faculty of combining his numbers for aggressive purposes against other groups *within his own species*". As his argument proceeds, he seems to take a less somber view of humanity than is suggested by this principle or by the title of the first chapter—"Man as a Malignant Mechanic".

The formal effort of society to perpetuate itself through the initiation or training of its future members is the subject of a book with a title which would seem bizarre but for its subtitle, *The Duk-Duks, Primitive and Historic Types of Citizenship*, by Elizabeth Anne Weber, of Hunter College (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. xviii, 142, \$3). The title is chosen from the name of an Indian tribe which lays stress upon initiation. The author, after describing similar primitive initiatory rites, discusses those of the Greeks and those connected with chivalry in the Middle Ages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Basil Williams, *Migration of Historical MSS.* [danger of sales to Americans] (Nineteenth Century, July); *Les Centres d'Études*: A. P. Usher, *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire Économique aux États-Unis*; Henri Hauser, *Des Archives Économiques à Boston*; Marc Bloch, *Une Nouvelle Revue d'Histoire Économique* [Journal of Economic and Business History] (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, April); A. B. Seamans, *Armed Merchantmen, a Factor in Naval Warfare* [Early English brief; Civil War, War with Spain, World War] (Current History, July).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: Paul Cloche, *Histoire Grecque* (1926-1928); the *fouilles* for 1928 and a part of 1927 being reserved for a subsequent *Bulletin* (Revue Historique, March); A. Piganiol, *L'Oeuvre des Grecques* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, July); Maurice Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine, l'Année 1928* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Jules Toutain, *Antiquités Romaines, suite et fin* (Revue Historique, May).

On July 27 Horace H. F. Jayne, director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, announced that the museum had received permission from the Egyptian government to carry on archeological work at Medum, which lies about fifty miles south of Cairo in the Libyan Desert, and which is a Fourth Dynasty site of approximately 2930 B.C. The monument of chief interest is the so-called "False Pyramid", which is partly covered by the sands of the desert. This pyramid is attributed to Seneferu, the father of Cheops, and is the fourth in the series of pyramids. Some of the greatest treasures in the Cairo Museum come from tombs at Medum. The work of the University of Pennsylvania expedition is to begin in November under the leadership of Mr. Alan Rowe.

In Communications no. 4 and no. 5 of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago are reports upon *The Excavation of Armageddon*, by Clarence S. Fisher, and upon the work at *Medinet Habu, 1924-1928*, by Harold H. Nelson and Uvo Hoelscher. It will be recalled that Armageddon is the Megiddo of the Scriptures and controlled the pass through the Carmel range that led from the south into the plain of Esdraelon, also popularly named Armageddon. The excavations of the Chicago expedition have reached the third level of the great mound and have disclosed a town plan belonging to the period 800 to 600 B.C. The work in Egypt, beginning with the temple of Ramses III., seeks to make a complete record of inscriptions by methods insuring scientific accuracy. The first section of the report upon this describes "The Epigraphic Survey of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu", while the second gives something new in such researches, "The Architectural Survey" of the same temple, carried out by trained architects. On July 19, 1929, the Institute, upon the return of Professor Edward Chiera from Iraq, where he was director of the Assyrian expedition, was able to announce important preliminary results, the partial excavation of the palace of Sargon II. at Khorsabad, and the discovery ten miles distant of a palace of Sennacherib. It seems that Sargon left this palace incomplete at his death, but he had carried it far enough to make it "a marvel of beauty and a masterpiece of construction". Portions of the frieze in the corridor in the courtyard and a gigantic stone bull which stood at the gateway are being brought to Chicago. Several more years will be required to complete the excavations at Khorsabad.

An interesting form of ancient art is presented in *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization: a Study of the Ethiopian Type*, by Grace Hadley Beardsley, of Goucher College (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. xii, 145, \$3.50). It is an attempt to list the representations of the negro type made by Greek and Roman artists upon vases, terra cottas, drinking cups, and other objects, preserved in the principal museums and private collections of the world. The author has been confronted by the difficulty that the term negro is not closely defined in the practice of various museum authorities. One noteworthy fact is that while Attic vase painters "indicated Orientals by their dress with scarcely any distinguishing marks of race, they delineated with marked realism the woolly hair and thick lips of the Ethiopian". The author has listed and described 289 examples of this form of art.

On Alexander's Track to the Indus, by Sir Aurel Stein (London, Macmillan, 21 s.), describes the results of the attempt by the author, supported by the government of India, to identify the principal places referred to in the accounts of Alexander's march. The region lies north of the Peshawar border of Northwestern India. His identifications, made on the basis of philological as well as topographical facts, are regarded as convincing.

Vol. IV. has now been added to the "Histoire Générale" edited by MM. Halphen and Sagnac, *L'Empire Romain*, by Eugène Albertini, Professor at the Faculty of Letters of Algiers (Paris, Alcan, 1929, pp. 466, 50 fr.)

Louis Perret, "Maître des Conférences" at the Catholic Institute of Paris, in *La Titulaire Impériale d'Hadrien* (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1929, pp. 103) seeks to establish on the basis of papyri, inscriptions, and references in contemporary literature, the precise history of the bestowal upon, or use by, Hadrian of official titles, under the several heads of official designation, surnames, and other titles, official or honorary. He takes Hadrian as the classical example of the use of such names, and believes that by establishing the chronology of their application he will furnish a means of dating documents which offer no other indication of time.

The translators of *On the Commonwealth: Marcus Tullius Cicero*, George Holland Sabine, Professor of Philosophy at Ohio State University, and Stanley Barney Smith, Professor of Classics at Bowdoin College (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1929, pp. 276), regard Cicero's contribution to political theory as valuable not so much for its originality as for the echoes which it records of theories current in the Hellenistic age, theories set forth in works of which only scanty fragments remain. The substantial introduction to the volume reviews the development of political theory from Plato and Aristotle to Cicero. In developing Cicero's own ideas the translators draw upon all his writings.

The first fascicle is announced of *Inscriptions Latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, edited by Émile Espérandieu, under the auspices of the Institute of France (Paris, Leroux, pp. 128).

Other books of interest: C. J. Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur* (New York, Dutton); John Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London, Constable); G. Renard, *Life and Work in Prehistoric Times* ("History of Civilization" series, London, Routledge; Kegan Paul); R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (London, Luzac).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ch. Picard, *Le Palais de Minos à Cnossos*, concl. (Journal des Savants, April); René Dussaud, *Les Missions Archéologiques Françaises dans le Proche Orient en 1918* [work done in the last ten years] (Revue de Paris, August 1); P. K. Ballie Reynolds, *The Shield Signal at the Battle of Marathon* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XLIX. 1); A. Andréadès, *Les Finances de Guerre d'Alexandre le Grand* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, July 15); R. G. Burton, *Alexander the Great and the Indian Frontier* (Edinburgh Review, July); Ellen C. Semple, *Ancient Mediterranean Pleasure Gardens* (Geographical Review, July); Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: their Origin and their Philosophy* (Harvard Theological Review, July); Harold Mattingly, *Coinage of the Roman Empire* (Edinburgh Review, July); Lieut.-Col. R. H. Kelley, *Hannibal and the Battle of Cannae* (Infantry Journal, August); Karl Müller, *Konstantin der Grosse und die Christliche Kirche* [Constantine converted as result of military victory, not because of political utility of Christianity; his later opposition to heresy induced by desire for church unity, rather than dogmatic correctness] (Historische Zeitschrift, CXL. 2); A. Kleinclausz, *L'Empire Romain, les Burgondes et l'Épiscopat Catholique* (Journal des Savants, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The opening article of *Speculum* for July is Professor Edward K. Rand's presidential address, delivered at the fourth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America on Apr. 27, with the subject of the Classics in the Thirteenth Century. The second essay is a persuasive demonstration by Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin, seeking to identify as Edward le Despenser the figure of the Knight of the Garter, which appears in the detail of the fresco called the "Church Militant and Triumphant" in the Spanish Chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence. The argument is supported by excellent reproductions of the fresco. In the same number Kenneth J. Conant continues his report on the Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, his topic being Drawings and Photographs of the Transept illustrated by elevations and by plates reproducing the capitals in various parts of the church.

It is announced that Harvard University offers a course of graduate studies leading to a doctor's degree in medieval Latin.

The Council of the Mediaeval Academy of America at its meeting on April 26 appointed J. D. M. Ford editor-in-chief of *Speculum*, and re-appointed F. P. Magoun, jr., as managing editor. Dana C. Munro and

John S. P. Tatlock were made members of the Editorial Board. At a meeting of the corporation of the Academy the following day John M. Manly was elected president.

In *Die Kirchengeschichte*, pt. I. (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1928, pp. iv, 77), Gustav Krüger gives a valuable critical bibliography of more than 600 items, drawn from recent publications in early and medieval Church history.

A memorial volume with the title *Camille Enlart, 1862-1927* (Paris, Naert, 1929, pp. 116), is made up of essays and discourses by French and foreign writers on this distinguished scholar's contribution to the knowledge of medieval art, together with a bibliography of his works.

In France three enterprises of l'Histoire Générale are in progress. Of the series edited by M. Glotz a first fascicle of volume I., *Histoire du Moyen Age*, with the subtitle *Des Destinées de l'Empire en Occident de 395 à 888*, has as its contributors F. Lot, Christian Pfister, and L. Ganshof, and covers the later Roman Empire as far as 535 (Presses Universitaires de France).

Der Abendländische Chorepiskopat was studied by Weizsäcker in 1859 and by Brugère in 1905. An apparently definitive discussion is now made by Theod. Gottlob under the above title (*Kanonistische Studien u. Texte* hrsg. v. A. Koeniger, vol. I.; Bonn, Schroeder, 1928, pp. xvi, 149). The institution existed in the West from the fifth to the tenth century, with lingering survivals in Ireland until the thirteenth century. Vol. II. in the same series is a monograph by A. Haas on *Das Interdikt nach Geltendem Recht mit einem Geschichtlichen Ueberblick* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. xii, 136), considering the judicial and practical aspects of the penalty from its effective origin in the eleventh century through its decline after the fourteenth to the present day; in a restricted sense it has been used several times since 1918.

It appears that the famous *Capitula et Ordinationes Curiae Maritimae Civitatis Amalphae*, which was sold early in the nineteenth century by the Foscarini family to the Austrian government, has now returned to Italy. It was overlooked at the time of the restitution of manuscripts and objects of art in accordance with the treaty of Saint-Germain, but has been obtained through an exchange since that time. In addition to the *Tables* of Amalfi the manuscript includes a transcript of the laws of the town of 1010 and certain later texts.

In *Rom oder Avignon* (Marburger Studien zur Aelteren Deutschen Geschichte, II. Reihe, 2. Stück., pp. 62, 1929) Elisabeth Krauck, with minute detail and painstaking consideration of recent investigations, expounds the complicated political circumstances that made it impossible for Clemens V. and John XXII. to establish the Curia in Rome. The author disputes the claim that John XXII. won his election by a pledge to restore the papacy to Rome.

An enlightening discussion of the origins of the towns in the region north of the Seine is given by G. des Marez, of the Royal Academy of Belgium, in *Les "Civitates" de la Belgique Seconde et le Début du Mouvement Urbain* (Brussels, Lamertin, pp. 23), which is a report on a memoir presented to the academy and was originally printed in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, séance du 8 Avril, 1929.

Professor Josef Strzygowski, of the University of Vienna, in his *Early Church Art in Northern Europe, with Special Reference to Timber Construction and Decoration* (London, Batsford, 1929, pp. 210), deals chiefly with the wooden architecture of Russia, Scandinavia, and the British Isles. He seeks to prove that its forms exercised an influence over later construction even in stone.

Professor C. C. J. Webb has added to his work on John of Salisbury an edition of the *Metalogicon* with the title *Ioannis Saresberiensis Metalogicon*, Libri IIII., which is of interest for its story of John's education (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

Studien und Charakteristiken zur Geschichte der Philosophie, insbesondere des Mittelalters, is a posthumous collection of essays by the late Munich philosopher, Clemens Baeumker, edited by M. Grabmann (Münster, Aschendorff, 1928, pp. vi, 284); it is an excellent introduction to medieval thought.

Beiheft 16 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* is a *Kriegsgeschichte des Mittelalters* by Wilhelm Erben (Munich, Oldenbourg, pp. 220).

A volume of unusual interest in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; Nova Series, is the *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzugs Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, edited by A. Chroust (Berlin, Weidmann, 1928, civ, 252; tomus V. of the series).

Two other books of interest are: G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, vol. II., *Chronicles, Science, and Art*; vol. III., *Men and Manners* (Cambridge University Press, 1929, 6 s. each); G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena, a Study* (Oxford University Press).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Stein, *Der "Romanus" in den Fränkischen Rechtsquellen* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLIII. 1-2); A. Andréadès, *Deux Livres Récents sur les Finances Byzantines* [works by F. Dölger and G. Ostrogorsky] (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVIII. 3-4); G. L. Lamon, *A Thirteenth-Century Miracle* [the Children's Crusade] (Contemporary Review, August); Berthold Altaner, *Aus den Akten des Rottweiler Provinzialkapitels der Dominikaner vom Jahre 1306* [introduction and text] (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVIII. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Gustav Wolf, *Allgemeine Reformations- und Gegenreformationsgeschichte* [1922-1928] (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.

XLVIII. 1); Frederick L. Nussbaum, *Recent Textbooks of Modern History* (Journal of Modern History, September).

Our attention has been called by Mr. William Yale, of the department of history of the University of New Hampshire, to the fact that V. Shiva Ram's *Comparative Colonial Policy*, recently reviewed here, shows in many passages a close dependence, amounting to verbal identity, upon passages in *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, by Professor C. J. H. Hayes.

The September number of the *Journal of Modern History* opens with a discussion of the Importance of the Class Struggle in Modern History by Halvdan Koht of the University of Oslo. Professor Harold Hulme deals with the Sheriff as a Member of the House of Commons from Elizabeth to Cromwell. Dr. Erik Achorn writes on Bernadotte or Bonaparte, and Professor R. J. Kerner on Russia, the Straits and Constantinople, 1914-1915. Under "Documents" Professor C. K. Webster contributes Some Early Applications from American Historians to Use the British Archives. The bibliographical articles are noted elsewhere.

Edward A. Freeman's *General Sketch of European History*, which was brought down to 1918 by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw in 1926, has appeared in a French translation edited by Professor A. Parmentier (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 240), who has added a few paragraphs on the last decade and has retouched the narrative where he thinks that Freeman's treatment of English history was too summary for French readers.

A revised and enlarged edition has appeared of the useful *Development of Modern Europe, the Background of Our Present Civilization*, vol. I., by James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1929, pp. ix, 611, xxv, \$3.20).

No one could have been better fitted than the late Father Léonard Lemmens, who held the chair of the history of missions in the Franciscan college at Rome, to write a general survey of the *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1929, pp. xx, 376).

Voyages of Great Pioneers, edited by Vincent Harlow, Keeper of Rhodes House Library, Oxford (New York, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. lv, 380, \$2.00), is a useful selection from the narratives of great travellers, voyagers, and discoverers, beginning with Friar William of Rubruck and concluding with Captain Cook. The texts used are chiefly those of the Hakluyt Society collection. In a substantial introduction the editor describes the development of geographical knowledge and the progress of discovery. The text is enriched by reproductions of early maps and prints.

The *Astronomia Nova* of Johannes Kepler is rare even in the original Latin. Students of the history of science will welcome the new German edition, published by Max Caspar under the title *Neue Astronomie* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1929, pp. 482).

Professor Abel Rey of the Sorbonne is editing a collection of "Textes et Traductions" with the aim of illustrating the history of modern thought. The first two of the series are *Nicolas Machiavel: le Prince*, translated by Colonna d'Istria, with an introduction by Professor Paul Hazard, of the Collège de France, and *Pétrarque: sur ma Propre Ignorance et celle de Beaucoup d'Autres*, translated by Juliette Bertrand, with a preface by P. de Nolhac (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1929, pp. vii, 140; xx, 97). One can not read the title of the latter without a smile, *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*. In this work Petrarch attacks the Averroists and illustrates his desire to combine the teachings of Platonism and Christianity.

A new volume in the Berkshire Studies in European History is the *Enlightened Despots* by Geoffrey Bruun (New York, Henry Holt, 1929, pp. x, 105, 85 cents). After a preliminary chapter on the Philosophy of the Enlightenment the three more notable "Despots", Frederick, Joseph, and Catharine, are portrayed, Joseph in greater detail. The author credits Joseph with only mediocre talents, but thinks his "infinite capacity for taking pains" nearly made him a genius. Louis XVI. and his minister Turgot are briefly treated in the chapter on Some Lesser Despots.

Another important coöperative enterprise by French historians is *Manuel de Politique Européenne, Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe (1871-1914)*, edited by Professor Henri Hauser, in two volumes, of which the first has appeared and the second is to follow in October (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 480, 50 fr.). The collaborators are J. Ancel, L. Cahen, R. Guyot, A. Lajusan, P. Renouvin, and H. Salomon.

Two other books of interest are: Peter Richard Rohden, *Joseph de Maistre als Politischer Theoretiker, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Konservativen Staatsgedankens in Frankreich* (München, Verlag der Münchener Drucke) [*Forschungen zu Mittelalterischen und neueren Geschichte*]; Baron de Staal, *Correspondance Diplomatique (1884-1900)*, edited by A. Meyendorff (Paris, Rivière, 1929, 2 v.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Henri Hauser, *Réflexions sur l'Histoire des Banques à l'Époque Moderne, de la fin du XV^e à la fin du XVIII^e Siècle* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, July); Hermann Schlingensiefen, *Erasmus als Exeget auf Grund seiner Schriften zu Matthäus* [great as philologist, psychologist, and stylist, weak as theologian] (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVIII. 1); P. Polman, *La Méthode Polémique des Premiers Adversaires de la Réforme* [respect for patristic authority was an appeal to history, not merely a dogma] (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); Wilhelm Niesel, *Calvin und die Libertiner* [they were quietistic mystics; Calvin correctly discerned their pantheistic tendencies; whether he was justified in assailing their morals is not clear] (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVIII. 1); Denis O'Keefe, *Theories of Church and State in the Sixteenth Century* (Studies, June); W. P. Harper, *Significance of the Farmers of the Customs in Public Finance in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century* (Economica,

April); Michelangelo Schipa, *Un Concordato Fallito tra Ferdinando IV. e Pio VI.* [1787-1789] (Nuova Antologia, May 1); Julien Grossbart, *La Politique Polonaise de la Révolution Française jusqu'aux Traités de Bâle*, II. (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, May); *La Documentation de l'Histoire Économique: les Plans Parcellaires*: Walther Vogel, *Allemagne*; Hubert Hall, R. H. Tawney, Marc Bloch, *Angleterre* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, April); Henri Sée, *Stendhal et la Vie Économique et Sociale de son Temps* [based on *Mémoires d'un Touriste*] (Mercure de France, July); J. Dontenville, *L'Alsace-Lorraine Terre d'Empire*; *Protestation, Autonomise*, I. [Alsatian attitude, 1871-1874] (Nouvelle Revue, June 1); Friedrich Thimme, *Auswärtige Politik und Hochfinanz; aus den Papieren Paul H. von Schwabach's* [latter's confidential relations with German foreign office, 1898-1914; through business contacts with Rothschilds, worked for international peace, particularly for understanding with England] (Europäische Gespräche, June); R. W. Seton-Watson, *British Policy in the Near East, 1900-1909* (Contemporary Review, June); Alexandre Zévaès, *A Propos du "Premier-Mai", ce que fut le Premier "Premier-Mai"*; *Notes d'un Manifestant* (Nouvelle Revue, May 1); W. L. Langer, *The 1908 Prelude to the World War* (Foreign Affairs, July).

WORLD WAR

A notable stage in the publication of documents on the origins of the war has been reached by the appearance of the first volume of *Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871-1914* (Paris, Alfred Costes, 1929, pp. xxxi, 659). The collection, as already announced, is to comprise three series, the first covering the period from the Treaty of Frankfurt (May 10, 1871) to the close of the year 1900. The second, the principal theme of which will be the Moroccan question, will include documents from Jan. 1, 1901, to the conclusion of the Moroccan agreement of Nov. 4, 1911. The third extends to the outbreak of the war and the Balkan questions furnish at least the principal occasions of crisis. The intention is to carry on publication in all three series simultaneously. The work is under the control of a commission of which Professor S. Charléty, rector of the Academy of Paris, is chairman, and upon which are many distinguished names of historians, archivists, and diplomats. In his general introduction Professor Charléty affirms that in the selection of documents the commission has been guided only by historical considerations, and he describes in detail the precautions which have been taken to prevent the suppression of essential evidence. The commission has wisely refused to follow either the English or the German method of arrangement by topics and has kept to the chronological order, furnishing a "Table Méthodique" in order that particular topics may be followed through. The present volume, which will be reviewed here at an early date, is the first of the third series, including documents to Feb. 7, 1912. Aside from the aftermath of the Moroccan question the volume offers

correspondence on the seizure of Tripoli, the Balkan storm signals, the problem of the Straits, the controversy over Persia, and other issues incident to these. The documents are drawn chiefly from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but those of the Ministry of War and the Ministry of the Marine have been included where they have a bearing on the general situation. The title-page carries no indication of the editors of this particular volume.

In the *Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale* for July Camille Bloch, director of the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Guerre, compares the plans upon which the three great collections of documents upon the origins of the war have been constructed. He finds that the French collection promises greater completeness than either the German or the English. For example, the editors of the *Grosse Politik* were not given access to the papers of the General Staff, while nothing has been withdrawn from the inspection of the French editors. Moreover, the annotation of the German series can not, M. Bloch believes, escape the reproach of being "tendancieuse". The French documents are printed without comment. M. Bloch also thinks the chronological order, adopted by the French, superior to the topical arrangement followed by the English and the Germans.

Vol. VII. of the French translation of *Die Grosse Politik, La Politique Extérieure de l'Allemagne*, by Bertrand Auerbach, appeared in May.

In *Die Kriegsschuldfrage* for July Professor Alfred Pribram, while writing in high praise of Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War*, urges that his view of the policy of the Dual Monarchy and of its ministers Aehrenthal and Berchtold is too severe. Bernhard Schwertfeger reviews the first Moroccan crisis in the light of the documents in vol. III. of the British official collection. Count Waldersee describes on the basis of his own recollections "Deutschlands Militärpolitischen Beziehungen zu Italien" in the years immediately before the war. The principal documents are the first instalment of despatches from the Russian archives belonging to the period of preparation of the Balkan wars, several of which are signed by Nekludov or Hartwig. In the August issue Friedrich Thimme argues that the Eyre Crowe "Memorandum" of Jan. 1, 1907 (British Documents, III. 397 ff.), had such a determining influence upon British policy thereafter, giving it a definitely anti-German character, that the British foreign office can not escape its share of responsibility for the impasse of July, 1914. Eyre Crowe thus becomes the English Holstein. Herr Thimme finds difficulty in explaining how a man whose mother was German, who was brought up in Germany, and whose wife was German, should have entertained such a settled distrust of German aims. He thinks a partial explanation may be found in the fact that his father Sir Joseph Crowe belonged to the circle of the Crown Princess, afterwards the Empress, Victoria, and therefore to an anti-Bismarck group. This, however, would not account for the gross unfairness of the "Memorandum", which must remain a mystery.

Dr. Alfred von Wegerer, editor of *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, in *Das Ausland Urteilt* (Berlin, Stilke, 1929, pp. 156), assembles what he deems the most notable criticisms, made chiefly by historians and other writers, upon article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. His case is not strengthened by the inclusion of pronouncements of well-known politicians or propagandists, suggested by reasons other than historical evidence. The opinions cited appear in three languages, English, French, and German, that is, the original and two translations, and are accompanied by biographical notes on the authors. In the quotation from Paléologue, which is a condemnation of the war by Count Witte, the English translation attributes, with surprising effects, to Paléologue himself Witte's remarks.

The dissatisfaction of the Bavarian government with the official German account of the operations in Lorraine in 1914 of the two armies, the Sixth and the Seventh, under Prince Ruprecht, has led to the publication of *Die Schlacht in Lothringen und in den Vogesen, 1914*, *Verfasst auf Grund der Kriegsakten von Karl Deuringer* (Munich, Schik, 1929, 2 vols., 30 M.). The Sixth army was composed chiefly of Bavarians. From the record it appears that Prince Ruprecht's freedom of action was seriously hampered by repeated changes of plan at general headquarters, indicated in successive despatches from Moltke. He was told to do the impossible, and when he made ready to attempt this, a new set of orders came.

Payot has added two tales of notable interest to the "Collection de Mémoires, Études, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale": *La "Möwe", ses Croisières et ses Aventures*, translated from the German of Captain Count Nicolas zu Dohna-Schlodien by Lieut. René Jouan; and *Mes Navires Mystérieux*, translated from the English of Rear-Ad. Gordon Campbell by André Cogniet, "Officier de Marine en retraite". The first describes, with the aid of maps and illustrations, the two cruises of a famous German commerce destroyer, and the second explains how, by means of ships disguised as tramp steamers, an English naval officer lured submarines to destruction (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 222, 262, 18 fr.).

Under the auspices of the Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre Paul-Henri Michel, librarian at the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Guerre, has prepared a bibliographical list of Marshal Foch's writings and of the studies, biographical or critical, upon his work under the title of *La Vie et l'Oeuvre du Maréchal Foch* (Paris, Alfred Costes, 1929, pp. 18). It originally appeared in the April number of the *Revue d'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale*.

In vol. III. of *The Official History of Australia in the War, 1914-1918*, C. E. W. Bean (Sydney, Angus and Robertson; London, Australia House, 21 s.) deals with the history of the A. I. F. in 1916, its transfer to the Western Front, and its share in the operations of that year, especially in the battle of the Somme. It is noteworthy that Australia, without re-

sorting to the draft, which was voted down in a referendum, maintained at the front five infantry divisions and the greater part of two cavalry divisions. The author thinks that on the British side the battle of the Somme was "the logical outcome of dull, determined strategy and the devotion of an inexperienced army". Hence the long casualty lists.

Further evidence in the controversy over the origin of unity of command on the Western Front is given in *Le Commandement Unique, comment il fût Réalisé*, by General Mordacq (Paris, Tallandier, 1929, 6 fr.), who was chief of the Military Cabinet of Clemenceau. He does not refuse formal credit to Haig for the final step, but finds the real authors of the move to have been Clemenceau and Foch.

Some light is thrown upon the encouragement given in 1919 by General Mangin to the Separatist movement in the Rhineland by Gustave Babin in the *Correspondant* of June 10 ("Le General Mangin et la République Rhénane"). The author is a journalist employed by General Mangin as a *liaison* officer who, as a reporter, could visit the villa of Dr. Dorten at Wiesbaden without exciting too many suspicions on the part of the German police. Mangin's manoeuvres were at this time opposed by the Clemenceau ministry which was trying to negotiate the Treaty of Versailles.

The book of F. H. Simonds, *How Europe made Peace without America* (New York, Doubleday, Page, 1927), has now been published in France under the title *Histoire de l'Europe d'après Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 286, 30 fr.) in the "Collection de Mémoires, Études, et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale". The translator is Edmond Dupuydauby, official translator at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He takes issue with the author on two questions, the personality of M. Poincaré and the significance of the occupation of the Ruhr. He believes with Professor R. B. Mowat that the Ruhr taught the Germans a lesson without which they would not have accepted the Dawes plan in good faith.

To the series on the economic and social history of the World War published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have been added two volumes, which will be reviewed here in a later number: *The Coöperative Movement in Russia during the War: Consumers' Coöperation*, by Eugene M. Kayden; *Credit and Agricultural Coöperation*, by Alexis N. Antsiferov; and *The Effect of the World War upon the Commerce and Industry of Japan: Commerce*, by Kakujiro Yamasaki, D.C.L.; *Industry*, by Gotaro Ogawa, M.P. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929).

Another book of interest is *Der Weltkrieg der Dokumente, 10 Jahre Kriegsschuldforschung und ihr Ergebnis*, by Bernhard Schwertfeger (Berlin: Die Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Die Entstehung des Neuen Casus Foederis* [Germany's complete support of Austria in 1908 amounted to

new offensive alliance against Serbia and Russia] (Der Krieg, July); Alfred von Wegerer, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage vom Waffenstillstand bis zur Unterzeichnung des Versailler Vertrages*; zum 28. Juni (Kriegsschuldfrage, June); *Mobilisierung und Krieg* [Baron Szilassy, Austrian ex-minister to Greece, denies necessary sequence] (Der Krieg, June); Casimir Smogorzewski, *Joseph Pilsudski et les Activistes Polonais pendant la Guerre (1914-1918)* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Albert Pingaud, *Études Diplomatiques—le Premier Mois de la Guerre Mondiale* [to the Russian-French-English Declaration of September] (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1); Gen. T. H. Bliss, *Foch* (Foreign Affairs, July); Raymond Turner, *Die Amerikanischen Revisionisten* (Der Krieg, July); Général Niessel [Extracts from *Souvenirs* of Général Broussilow], *L'Offensive Russe de 1916*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15); Charles Seymour, *Re-Fighting the War on Paper* (Yale Review, Summer).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: Ch. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande-Bretagne* (suite et fin), eighteenth century to the present (Revue Historique, March).

Among the articles in the *English Historical Review* for July is the Jacobite Rising of 1715 and the English Catholics, by Patrick Purcell, which draws upon the Forfeited Estates Papers of the Public Record Office to show how an attempt was made to break down Catholic influence in the north by seizing the property of those suspected of collusion with the Old Pretender or of using their funds to support priests. The work of the informers whose services were enlisted makes an unpleasant page in English history. Another article of interest is pt. I. of an account of the House of Lords under Charles II., by A. S. Turberville.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research for June (vol. VII., no. 19) opens with a first instalment of Tudor Gleanings by Professor Pollard, in which he explains the significance of the "de facto" act of Henry VII. He believes that it was intended to reassure the Yorkists who had thus far escaped proscription, and therefore was a "measure of temporary expediency very limited in scope". In this number also is continued the chronological record of ambassadorial assignments belonging to Anglo-French Diplomatic Relations, 1558-1603.

In *History* for July, Rev. H. E. Salter, utilizing the happy survival of deeds belonging to the colleges, to Oseney and the Hospital of St. John, and, in addition, the cartularies, has been able to describe with precision the City of Oxford in the Middle Ages. The same number includes a suggestive "Historical Revision" on the Industrial Revolution, by H. L. Beales, in which he points out the tendency among students to modify or reject the term itself, to push back considerably beyond 1760 the date of the beginnings, to decrease the emphasis on sensational inventions, and to apply quantitative methods, for example, in determining

the extent of particular evils like child labor. Notes and News contain further information about the effort to safeguard manorial records and the first steps taken toward the preparation of a correct list of members of the House of Commons from 1264 to 1832.

Erwin F. Meyer's *Henri III. d'Angleterre et l'Église*, which appeared in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* for March-June, 1928, maintains in contradiction to Gasquet that there was then a decided opposition in England to the papal monarchy as such (Paris, Leroux, 1928, pp. 37).

The remarkable adaptation of Butzer's practical proposals to conditions in contemporary England, leading to the development of the peculiarly British "religious imperialism", is the heart of Wilhelm Pauck's book, *Das Reich Gottes auf Erden, Utopie und Wirklichkeit; eine Untersuchung zu Butzers "De Regno Christi" und zur Englischen Staatskirche des 16 Jhrds.* (Berlin and Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1928, pp. 208).

The *Memoirs of Captain Carleton* were once supposed to be a production of Defoe. They have also been ascribed to Swift. They now appear in a new series of *Memoirs of Court, Camp, and Society*, edited by Cyril Hughes Hartmann (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1929, pp. xxvii, 301, \$5.00). In his introduction the editor seeks to prove that Carleton lived and fought outside the pages of the romancer. Another volume in the series is the *Memoirs of Leonora Christina*, daughter of Christian IV. of Denmark.

Paul Mantoux has utilized the opportunity which an English translation by Marjorie Vernon of his well-known work on the Industrial Revolution offered to revise certain of his original conclusions. The title of the translation is *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: an Outline of the Beginnings of the Factory System in England* (London, Cape, pp. 539, 16 s.).

Students of Gibbon's career will rejoice at the publication of the almost forgotten *Gibbon's Journal to January 28, 1763*, edited, with introductory essays, by D. M. Low (London, Chatto and Windus, 17 s. 6 d.). What Gibbon set down in this Journal, beginning in August, 1761, when he became a captain in the Hampshire militia, may be compared with his account in his "Memoirs" with their various recensions.

Professor Élie Halévy's *A History of the English People, Epilogue, 1895-1905* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1929, pp. xiii, 440, \$6.00), translated by E. I. Watkin, embodies certain modifications from the French edition of 1926 (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII. 865) in view of the publication since that date of vols. I. and II. of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*. For example, he discusses in a discriminating note the evidence in the controversy over the character of the offers made by the British to Delcassé before his fall.

Professor Alfred Zimmern's *The Third British Empire*, made up originally of lectures delivered four years ago at Columbia University,

has been translated into French in the July issue of *L'Année Politique, Française et Étrangère*.

Students of the artistic history of the older London will find an indispensable instrument, as well as a source of keen delight, in the new volume of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, vol. IV., *The City* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1929, xxxv, 258, plates 228, 21 s.). Of St. Paul's alone there are no fewer than fifty-four illustrations and plans. The inventory includes only two of the classes ordinarily embodied in these reports: English Ecclesiastical Monuments and English Secular Monuments. The Roman monuments were described in the third volume of the county of London, and no prehistoric monuments or earthworks are visible within the area. The year 1714 is the terminus chosen. The detailed descriptions of monuments are preceded by a sectional preface which calls attention to the more notable examples, including brasses, glass, pulpits, and sword-rests. Among the plates it would be futile to point out which are the most interesting. Three exhibit for comparison ten church towers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, two others display eight pulpits for the same purpose. The monuments are described by wards, and the descriptions deal in detail with every characteristic feature. An appendix furnishes a glossary of the technical terms. Another appendix lists the churches which escaped the Great Fire of 1666, those destroyed and not rebuilt, and those rebuilt or repaired by Sir Christopher Wren, fifty-two in number. The cost of the churches which Wren designed is also given. The chief secular monuments described are the halls of the London companies, the Inns of Court, etc.

Mediaeval Cheshire: an Economic and Social History of Cheshire in the Reigns of the Three Edwards, by H. J. Hewitt (Manchester, University Press, 1929, 21 s.), is unlike even most English county histories in avoiding genealogies and diverting local legends and in presenting the results of a scientific inquiry among the records into the actual condition of this earldom on the Welsh border. It seems that the strain of chronic warfare kept the population sparse and disinclined it to agriculture. Cheshire was also in those days one of the most turbulent counties.

Modern Research, with Special Reference to Early Irish Ecclesiastical History, by Dom Louis Gougaud, O.S.B., has been published by Hodges, Figgis (Dublin, 1929, pp. 58). It contains a brief but valuable account of Irish studies, hints as to methods, and suggestions as to subjects for research, with many apt illustrations and bibliographical references.

Other books of interest: Cyril Matheson, *A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs, and of the Papers relating to Scottish History, including Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., 1908-1927* (Aberdeen, Milne, and Hutchinson); E. W. Williamson, *The Letters of Osbert of Clare* (Oxford); John J. Webb, *The Dublin Guilds* (Benn); A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (Longmans);

C. W. New, *The Life of Lord Durham* (Oxford University Press); Sir John Charteris, *Earl Haig* (Scribner's); J. A. I. Agar-Hamilton, *The Native Policy of the Voor-Trekkers, an Essay in the History of South Africa, 1836-1858* (Simpkin, Marshall).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. A. Marti, *Secularization of Church Property in England, 1533-1539* (Journal of Political Economy, August); C. F. Smith, *History of the London Stock Exchange* (American Economic Review, June); Commander C. F. Jepson, R. N., *A Sea Career in Nelson's Day: a Memoir*, cont. [Memoir of Charles Tilly, written by Maj.-Gen. Gwavas S. Tilly in 1883, arranged by Commander Jepson] (Fighting Forces, April); Denis Gwynn, *Sydney Smith and Catholic Emancipation* (Edinburgh Review, July); A. G. R. Stirling-Taylor, *The Fifth Earl of Roseberry* (Fortnightly Review, July); J. P. Baxter, 3d, *Some British Opinions as to Neutral Rights, 1861 to 1865* (American Journal of International Law, July); F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *King's College, London* (Nineteenth Century, July); G. W. Henderson, *Foreign Religious Influences in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh Review, July); Denis Gwynn, *Daniel O'Connell and his Lieutenants* (Studies, June).

FRANCE

Général reviews: Charles Samaran, *Histoire de France; Fin du Moyen Age, 1328-1498* (Revue Historique, May); Louis Halphen, *Le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois, 1^{re} partie* (ibid.); A. Albert-Petit, *Les Livres d'Histoire* [three monographs in modern French history] (Revue de Paris, May 15).

In May appeared the first "fascicule" of the new *Dictionnaire Biographique Française*, edited by J. Balteau, A. Rastoul, and M. Prévost. About eighty scholars have collaborated upon this first section. The work is intended to deal with French biography on the same scale as other national dictionaries of biography. Each "fascicule" will contain approximately 128 pages, double column.

On May 23 Louis Madelin, the biographer of Fouché and Danton, the author of a widely read history of the French Revolution, and a writer upon the military history of the Great War, was received at the French Academy. He succeeds to the chair of Robert de Flers. In May also he began publishing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a series of articles on the Consulate, a part of his long expected work on Napoleon.

In the *Actes du Premier Congrès National des Historiens Français, Paris, 20-23 Avril, 1927* (mentioned *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII. 964, and now published by the Comité Français des Sciences Historiques (Paris, Rieder, 1928), appears not only a record of the proceedings but abstracts or summaries of the papers presented.

The proceedings of the second congress of the "Fédération Historique de Lorraine" in June, 1928, are given in its *Annuaire* (Nancy, Paris,

Strasbourg, Berger-Levrault, 1929, pp. ix, 176, 16 fr.), including the principal papers presented. One of special interest for its bearings upon the present problems of stabilization is "La Valorisation des Créances Privées sous le Directoire dans le Département de la Meurthe", in which Professor F. Braesch describes the methods by which the authorities provided for the equitable settlement of debts contracted during the period of inflation. He regards the legislation of the Directory as more honest than that of the present French government which by fixing the franc at four cents deprived many lenders of four-fifths of their credits. In the same series of the *Annales de l'Est* of the University of Nancy, in which the *Annuaire* appears, is a monograph by Alphonse Schmitt on *La Population du Département de la Meuse depuis le Début du XIX^e Siècle* (pp. 93, 12 fr.), an instructive example of the work of the new French school of geography, the disciples of Vidal de la Blache.

An "Exposition Rétrospective des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique du Nord" was held in Paris during the months of April, May, and June. It was under the auspices of a committee over which Gabriel Hanotaux, of the French Academy, presided. As a memorial and at the same time to facilitate the study of the exposition a sumptuous *Catalogue Illustré* was issued under the auspices of the government of Canada, the government of the Province of Quebec, and the Académie des Sciences Coloniales de Paris (Paris, Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales, pp. 312, 20 fr.). The general introduction was written by M. Hanotaux. An essay on "Nouvelle France et Canada" was contributed by the Duc de Lévis Mirepoix, president of the Société d'Histoire du Canada. Professor Gilbert Chinard, of Johns Hopkins University, added a few pages on "Le Souvenir Français aux États-Unis". The catalogue contains many reproductions of manuscripts, maps, engravings, paintings, and miniatures lent by the Canadian archives, and especially from private collections in France ordinarily inaccessible to the student. Objects in the exposition are carefully described and documents are often calendared. In connection with the exposition were published *L'Oeuvre de la Compagnie de St.-Sulpice dans l'Amérique du Nord—Canada et États-Unis*, by E. Levesque, P.S.S. (Paris, Gabriel Enault, pp. 32), and *Les Missions des Jésuites au Canada, XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles*, by R. P. O. d'Hérouville, S.J. (Paris, Gabriel Enault, pp. 80). The latter includes an analysis of the documents exhibited by the Jesuits, written by A.-Léo Leymarie, secrétaire-adjoint of the exposition.

Pierre Champion's *Louis XI.*, reviewed here (XXXIII. 635), has now been translated (Dodd, Mead).

The Librairie Plon announces a *Histoire des Colonies Françaises et l'Expansion de la France dans le Monde*, in six volumes, under the general editorship of Gabriel Hanotaux, of the French Academy, and of Alfred Martineau, Professor in the Collège de France. The volume of special interest to Americans is the first, *L'Amérique Française*, of which

the authors will be Charles de la Roncière, Joannès Trammond, and Emile Lauvrière. For this volume M. Hanotaux will write a general introduction on French expansion. The advance subscription is 720 fr. for the volumes unbound, 1000 fr. in "cuir raciné". The volumes may be had separately at a slightly higher price.

The Grand Prix Gobert has been awarded by the French Academy to M. René Pinon for his *Histoire Diplomatique de la France, 1515-1519*, which is vol. IX. of "Histoire de la Nation Française", edited by M. Gabriel Hanotaux.

The fourth volume in the "Collection des Meilleurs Écrivains" is *Oeuvres du Cardinal de Richelieu, avec une Introduction et Notes*, par Roger Gaucheron (Paris, Tallandier, 1929, pp. xx, 247). It is made up of those chapters from the "Testament Politique" which appear best to express Richelieu's political doctrine and to sum up the results of a long experience in government. To these are added "Pensées Politiques", or maxims, a sentence or two or short paragraphs, taken from the cardinal's works. In each case the editor by an initial has indicated the source. The last section contains selected letters. There are added illuminating notes. The whole is prefaced by a "Notice", written by the well-known Jacques Bainville, and a critical introduction by the editor. The printer's art has contributed to the attractiveness of the edition.

Two more volumes have appeared in the important *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de la France*. These are *Angleterre (1648-1690)*, and are edited by J. J. Jusserand, formerly ambassador of France to the United States (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1929, 150 fr.).

Taking as his point of departure assertions made in the Chamber of Deputies that Louis XIV. respected the religious privileges of the Alsatian Protestants, Chr. Pfister in the *Revue Historique* for March-April shows that the Edict of Nantes was not revoked in Alsace, simply because it was never applicable there, and that some of the intolerant and oppressive practices ordinarily associated with the revocation were introduced by special decree. One consequence was that by the middle of the eighteenth century Lutheran Strasbourg had a Catholic majority. M. Pfister characterizes the royal policy as "tracassière".

With the publication of vol. XLI. of the *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (Paris, Hachette, 1928, pp. 507) the text of the Boislisle-Lecestre edition is completed, except for the index which is to be provided. The volume opens with the dismissal of Villeroy in August, 1722, and continues to the death of the regent. M. Léon Lecestre, who has had charge of the work since 1908, gives in this volume a statement of the principles upon which the edition has been based. He proves that the "Mémoires" were set down without preliminary sketches, although composed long after the events themselves.

The April issue of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* gives an account of a project to restore the statue of Napoleon by Frémiet which stood on the place d'Armes of Grenoble until it was destroyed in November, 1870, by order of the prefect representing the Government of National Defense. It is now to be restored and placed in the field at Laffrey, the scene of the dramatic incident of Mar. 7, 1815, when Napoleon, returning from Elba, advanced toward the 5th Regiment of the Line. An interesting contemporary pencil sketch by Bellangé appears in connection with the account. In the May issue of the *Revue* is the third of the addresses delivered at Rome by M. Driault, in which he seeks to show that before Napoleon's work Europe was only a geographical expression, and that this organized Europe, far from being delivered from tyranny at Leipzig, was plunged with France into a common disaster. One permanent consequence of Napoleon's leadership in Europe was freedom from industrial exploitation by the British. This was accomplished, M. Driault believes, by the Continental System. Another article in the May issue, by Emile le Gallo, deals with "Le Duc de Bourbon dans l'Ouest en Mars 1815".

Another legend in trouble! The oft-repeated statement that by a royal ordinance of 1781 four quarters of nobility were demanded as one of the qualifications for appointment as an officer is subjected by M. G. Six in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* for January to the test of actual army records in the case of 46 men. All that the ordinance, which was not an ordinance but a "décision", meant for these men, and presumably for many others whose records have not been examined, was that they were forced to gain appointments first as subordinate officers, upon which the door to appointment to a lieutenancy was open. The chief purpose of the decision was to prevent wealthy bourgeois from buying commissions for their sons, and so lessening the chances of the poorer provincial nobility.

A collection of the manuscripts of Napoleon, belonging to the years 1793-1795, edited by Simon Askenazy, has been published in Warsaw (Jérôme Wilder, 1929, 690 fr.). It adds to the number already known or gives first drafts. One of them is a romance, "Clisson et Eugénie", whose heroine is Eugénie Clary, who afterwards married Bernadotte. The edition is luxurious, being printed both in French and Polish with 28 pages of facsimiles. These manuscripts seem to have been obtained in 1822 by Count Titus Działyński, and were lost from sight in his castle until 1925.

With the publication of *Le Dix-huit Brumaire et la Fin de la République* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1929, pp. 184), Albert Meynier completes his series upon "Les Coups d'État du Directoire".

A second volume has appeared on *The Armies of the First French Republic and the Rise of the Marshals of Napoleon I.*, by the late Colonel Ramsey Weston Phipps (New York, Oxford University Press, \$7.50).

The first volume (reviewed, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 120) was concerned with the "Armée du Nord". The present volume deals with the armies of the "Sambre et Meuse" and of the "Rhin et Moselle".

To the collection of "Récits d'Autrefois" Hachette has added another, *Le Passé Vivant*, which deals with topics still more briefly. In this series Henri Béraud has already written *Le 14 Juillet*. The second volume is *Il Était une Fois Napoléon*, by Joseph Delteil (Paris, Hachette, 1929, pp. 223). It presents Napoleon's career virtually in a drama of five acts with an interlude or "Interrêve" reviewing hastily the years from 18 Brumaire to the Russian expedition, in order to preserve the unity of the theme, Napoleon as a dreamer. First we have the dream of Oriental empire culminating in Egypt, and last the more grandiose dream of the Orient at Moscow. The style is "vivant", and the only question is the verities of interpretation.

The patriotism of the Alsatians, bewildered by the rapid shifting of scenes in 1814-1815, the First Restoration, the Hundred Days, and the Second Restoration, is the subject of a brochure, *L'Alsace en 1815*, by P. Leuillot (Thann, 1928), which originally appeared in the *Revue d'Alsace*.

In the *Revue de Paris* of July 15 G. Lacour-Gayet discusses "Talleyrand et l'Affaire du Duc d'Enghien". He does not offer new evidence of Talleyrand's responsibility, but subjects Talleyrand's own statements in the *Memoirs* to severe criticism. This discussion forms part of vol. II. of his *Talleyrand*, which is soon to appear.

Guizot in the Early Years of the Orleanist Monarchy, by Elizabeth Farnham Brush, of Rockford College (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1929, pp. 236, \$1.50), carries the political career of Guizot to his retirement from the Molé ministry in 1837. A long introductory chapter recounts his part in the politics of the Restoration. The attitude of the author is sympathetic. Her work is based primarily upon printed sources, supplemented by the collections in the archives of the Guizot family at Val Richer. It is vol. XV., no. 2, of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.

With vol. I. of the *Correspondance Intime de l'Amiral de La Roncière Le Nourry avec sa Femme et sa Fille (1855-1871)* (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. lvi, 292, 20 fr.) the Société de l'Histoire de France opens a new series in its publications. Hitherto the period to which they belonged terminated in 1789: It has now assumed also the succession of the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, which had chosen the period from 1789 as its field and which, from 1891 to 1922, published 63 volumes. The new series will be similar in format, typography, etc., to these volumes, so that they may appear upon library shelves as a continuation. From the Société de l'Histoire de France it will be possible to obtain copies of the volumes published by its predecessor, so far as editions are not exhausted.

When in July, 1928, an equestrian statue of Marshal Foch was unveiled at Cassel, in Flanders, where were his headquarters from Oct., 1914, to June, 1915, Gabriel Hanotaux delivered an address as delegate of the French Academy and in the name also of the Academy of Sciences. This has now been published, together with an intimate sketch of the marshal by M. Hanotaux, *Le Maréchal Foch, ou l'Homme de Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1929, pp. 53, 6 fr.).

Other books of interest in this field are: Henri Sée, *Esquisse d'une Histoire Économique et Sociale de la France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Guerre Mondiale* (Alcan); Jean Longnon, *Les Français d'Outre-mer au Moyen Age, essai sur l'Expansion Française dans le Bassin de la Méditerranée* (Perrin); Marcel Aubert, *La Sculpture en Bourgogne* (Van Oest); F. de Vaux de Foletier, *Histoire d'Aunis et de Saintonge* (Boivin); G. Fagniez, *La Femme et la Société Française dans la Première Moitié du XVII^e Siècle* (Gamber); Cécile Gazier, *Histoire du Monastère de Port-Royal* (Perrin); Maurice Perrot, *Deux Expéditions Insulaires Françaises* (Berger-Levrault); Comte de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires: la Révolution et l'Émigration*, ed. Baron de Barante (Calmann-Lévy); Madeleine Clemenceau-Jacquemaire, *Vie de Madame Roland*, vol. I. (Tallandier); Robert Launay, *Barère de Vieuzac* (Tallandier); François de la Rochefoucauld, *Souvenirs du 10 Août et de l'Armée de Bourbon*, ed. Jean Marchand (Calmann-Lévy); Pierre Marx, *L'Évolution du Régime Représentatif vers le Régime Parlementaire de 1814 à 1816* (Rousseau); Vicomte de Guichen, *Les Grandes Questions Européennes et la Diplomatie des Puissances sous la Seconde République Française*, vol. II. (Attinger); Stephen H. Roberts, *History of French Colonial Policy, 1870-1925* (London, P. S. King).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. R. Roland-Marcel, *The Bibliothèque Nationale of France* [by its Director] (Romanic Review, April); F. Duine, *Catalogue des Sources Hagiographiques pour l'Histoire de Bretagne jusqu'à la fin du XII^e Siècle*, concl. (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 2); J. W. Thompson, *The Introduction of Arabic Science into Lorraine in the Tenth Century* (Isis, May); G. Mollat, *L'Application du Droit de Régale Spirituelle en France du XII^e au XIV^e Siècle*, I. [practice of French kings to confer benefices during vacancy of episcopal sees] (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); Bertrand de Chantérac, *Odet de Foix, Vicomte de Lautrec* [a study of his campaigns in Italy] (Revue des Questions Historiques, April and July); *Problèmes d'Histoire Routière*: Charles Gilliard, *L'Ouverture du Gothard*; Thérèse Sclafert, *Les Routes du Dauphiné et de la Provence sous l'Influence du Séjour des Papes à Avignon* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, April); Lucien Febvre, *Une Question mal Posée: les Origines de la Réforme Française et le Problème Général des Causes de la Réforme* [arguing that all manifestations of the life of the period, economic, social, and political, must be considered in the study of the moral and religious crisis] (Revue Historique, May); Henri Sée, *Études sur les*

Mines Bretonnes au XVI.^e Siècle, concl. (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 2); Albert Mathiez, *Portraits Révolutionnaires: Robespierre et Vergniaud*, II. (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, May); E. Galmiche, *Nouveaux Documents sur le Comité de Surveillance Révolutionnaire de Saint-Brieuc* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 2); Arthur Lévy, *Un Grand Profiteur de Guerre: Ouvrard* [during the Consulate] I. (Revue de Paris, August 1); G. de Grandmaison, *Les Prisonniers Espagnols et Français pendant le Premier Empire* (Revue Générale); Georges Lefranc, *Die Begründung des Französischen Eisenbahnnetzes, eine Studie über das Gesetz von 11 Juni, 1842* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, March); Daniel Halévy (ed.), *Trois Diners avec Gambetta* [Gambetta's table talk from the journal of Ludovic Halévy] (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 1); Jules Cambon, *Souvenirs sur le Maréchal Foch* (ibid., May 15); Camille Jullian, *Les Temps Anciens de Strasbourg* (Journal des Savants, April).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Among the papers in the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, vol. XV., issued separately, is the lecture on Plotinus, by W. R. Inge, C.V.O., and Notes on the "Matière de Bretagne" in Italy, by Edmund G. Gardner. The latter deals with the echoes of the Arthurian legend in Italian literature.

The fourth volume of *Il Carteggio Cavour-Nigra dal 1858 al 1861* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1929, 65 l.) throws light on the Neapolitan phase of the unification of Italy and on the earlier plans to deal with the Roman Question. A curious suggestion offered by Prince Napoleon in 1861 was that the pope should remain sovereign over the Vatican "avec un jardin et St. Pierre, ce qui suffit pour le rendre indépendant moralement".

Croce's *Storia d'Italia* (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 595) has been translated by Cecilia M. Ady with the title *A History of Italy, 1871-1915* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1929, \$5.00). A French translation has also been made by Henri Bédarida, *Histoire de l'Italie Contemporaine (1871-1915)* (Paris, Payot, 1929, 30 fr.).

For the study of the policy of the Vatican since the war, and especially the concordats with Germany, Poland, Lithuania, and other countries, a useful collection is *I Concordati Postbellici*, by Amadeo Giannini (Milan, Società editrice "Vita e Pensiero", 1929).

Among the invaluable publications of papal documents dealing with Spain by the learned P. Kehr, there now appear 234 unpublished bulls or briefs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, together with a considerable number of legates' letters and related texts; the edited collection bears the title *Papsturkunden in Spanien. II. Navarra und Aragon. 2. Urkunden und Regesten* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1928, pp. 255-600).

The little volume of essays, *Spain Overseas*, by Bernard Moses, of the University of California (New York, Hispanic Society, 1929, pp.

114), embodies briefly the results of a lifetime of study and reflection upon the characteristics of Spanish colonization. The two closing essays deal with the Spanish régime in the Philippine Islands and upon what the Americans have done there as Spain's successors.

In the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for July 15 Professor Cl. Sanchez-Albornoz, of Madrid, gives an interesting review of the work accomplished by the Spanish *Centro de Estudios Historicos* founded in 1910. Under its auspices a hundred volumes have been published. Many scholars trained by the leaders of its sections now occupy chairs or scientific positions of importance. At present there are four sections, and that of the "History of Institutions" has as its chief Professor Sanchez-Albornoz himself.

The chronic conflict between *Koenigtum und Episkopat in Portugal im XIII. Jahrhundert* is recounted by Abiah Elisabeth Reuter on the basis of the pontifical registers (*Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, fasc. 69; Berlin-Grunewald, Rothschild, 1928, pp. viii, 120).

An important contribution to the literary history of Portugal is made in vol. I. of *Early Portuguese Books, 1489-1600, in the Library of His Majesty the King of Portugal*, as described by H. M. King Manuel. This first volume goes to 1539, and is printed at the Cambridge University Press for Maggs Brothers, London. This *roi en exile* seems to possess a veritable treasure house of books and, what is equally to the point, the scholarship to describe its contents. There are to be three volumes and the price will be £25.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: André-É. Sayous, *Les Transformations des Méthodes Commerciales dans l'Italie Médiévale* [study of commercial and financial institutions and practices in Venice, Genoa, and Florence] (*Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, April); Julius Schlosser, *Ueber die Aeltere Kunsthistoriographie der Italiener* (*Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, XLIII. 1-2); Paul Vulliaud, *Gioberti et l'Impérialisme Italien* [analysis of his chief work, pub. 1843, basing Italian pre-eminence on papacy] (*Mercure de France*, May 15); *L'Évolution de la Question Romaine de Cavour à Mussolini*, by G. Bourgin (*Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, June 10); Giuseppe Prezzolini, *La Littérature Italienne de l'Après-Guerre* (*Revue de Paris*, May 1).

GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

Of a projected *Kirchengeschichte Hamburgs* in three volumes, the first has appeared, *Die Hamburgische Kirche im Zeichen der Mission und im Glanze der Erzbischöflichen Würde*, by Dr. Johann Simon Schöfel (Hamburg, Friederichsen, de Gruyter and Company, 1929, pp. 229, 10 M.), and deals with the period before the archiepiscopal dignity was definitively transferred to Bremen.

In order to illustrate the development of a school system in Germany during the early period of the Reformation Elbert Vaughan Wills has translated the Elementary-School Ordinance from the Wuerttemberg Church Code of 1559 for the *Lutheran Quarterly* of July. Before the code was issued the reigning duke had a survey made, by which it was learned that there were 194 schools, of which 38 gave instruction in Latin and German and the others in German alone. The translation is annotated.

The theological quarrels of what might be called the Silver Age of the German Reformation, an almost forgotten chapter in Church history, are ably revived by Hans Leube's *Kalvinismus und Luthertum*; Bd. 1: *Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im Protestantischen Deutschland* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1928, pp. x, 402).

An illuminating contribution to the history of the German theatre and its influence upon German culture is made by Dr. Ernest Leopold Stahl in *Das Mannheimer Nationaltheater: ein Jahrhundert Deutscher Theaterkultur im Reich* (Mannheim, J. Bensheimer, 1929, 25 M.). One curious fact is the popularity of *Hamlet*, which for 150 years follows in number of representations Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, *Kabale und Liebe*, and *Die Räuber*.

An interesting chapter in religious psychology as well as in religious history has been written by Bernhard Duhr, S.J., entitled *Deutsche Auslandschmuck im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert; aus der Überseeischen Missionsarbeit Deutscher Jesuiten* (Stuttgart, Ausland und Heimat Verlagsaktiengesellschaft, 1928, pp. 78); intense desire for missionary activity is revealed in the letters of German Jesuits, from which is also taken an account of their hardships consequent on the order's banishment from Spanish and Portuguese territory.

The second volume of Niebuhr's letters, *Die Briefe Barthold Georg Niebuhrs*, edited by Dr. Dietrich Gerhard and William Norvin (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1929, pp. xii, 691, 30 M.), covers the period of special interest in Niebuhr's life from 1806 to 1816, dealing with his *History of Rome* and with his share in the War of Liberation.

The Carl Schurz Vereinigung, apropos of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the man whose name it bears, has issued a memorial volume, edited by A. Erkelenz and Fritz Mittelman, *Carl Schurz: der Deutsche und der Amerikaner* (Berlin, Sieben Stäbe, 1929, pp. 268, 12 M.).

The publication of *Die Gesammelten Werke* of Bismarck has now reached vol. XI., which includes the speeches from 1869 to 1878. The editor of the section of the "Reden" is W. Schüssler (Berlin, Stollberg, 1929, pp. xii, 613).

The chief purpose of *Unemployment Insurance in Germany*, by Mollie Ray Carroll (Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution, 1929, pp. 137,

\$2.00), is to explain the law of July 16, 1927. There are, however, five introductory chapters which give German experience with unemployment insurance prior to that time and which discuss the vicissitudes of unemployment since the war.

Waldemar Deonna has made an interesting collection of legends and false identifications in *La Fiction dans l'Histoire Ancienne de Genève et du Pays de Vaud* (Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, XXXV. 1; Geneva, Jullien, 1929, pp. xi, 179).

The *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, Band 27 [1928], contains an elaborate historical-economic study with illustrations, "Die Gewerbe am Kleinbasler Teich" by Eduard Schweizer; two articles relating the city to general history, "Das Bistum Basel während des Grossen Schismas 1378-1415" by Karl Schönenberger and "Die Ausgaben der Safranzunft im Burgunderkrieg" by Paul Kölner; also a continuation of the "Bibliographische Beiträge zum Lebenswerk Oekolampads" by Ernst Staehelin.

Das Buch der Basler Reformation is an excellent collection of documents (those in Latin being translated) with brief introductions, carrying the movement through the critical year 1529 and continuing to 1534. The work is edited by Ernst Staehelin in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation (Basle, Helbing, 1929, pp. 272).

Other books of interest in this field: Max Hein, *Otto von Schwerin, der Oberpräsident des Grossen Kurfürsten* (Königsberg, Gräfe and Unger); Fritz Hähnsen, ed. *Ursprung und Geschichte des Artikels V des Prager Friedens, die Deutschen Akten zur Frage der Teilung Schlesiens, 1863-1879* (Breslau, Ferd. Hirt); Holger Hjelholt, *Treitschke und Schleswig-Holstein; der Liberalismus und die Politik Bismarcks in der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Frage* (Munich, Oldenburg); Hans Goldschmidt, *Bismarck und die Friedensunterhändler, 1871, die Deutsch-Französischen Friedensverhandlungen zu Brüssel und Frankfurt* (Berlin, W. de Gruyter); Egmont Zechlin, *Staatsstreichpläne Bismarcks und Wilhelms II., 1890-1894* (Stuttgart); Theodore Eschenburg, *Das Kaiserreich am Scheideweg, Bassermann, Bülow und der Block, nach unveröffentlichten Papieren aus dem Nachlass Ernst Bassermanns* (Berlin, Verlag für Kulturpolitik); Paul Wiegler, *William the First*, tr. by Constance Vesey (Allen and Unwin); Rochus, Baron von Rheinhaben, *Stresemann, the Man and the Statesman*, tr. by Cyrus Brooks and Hans Herzl (New York, Appleton); Sir Robert Wood, *The Polish Corridor and the Consequences* (London, Butterworth).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. A. Binchy, *Irish Benedictines in Medieval Germany* (Studies, June); Heinz Zatschek, *Ein Neues Buch über Kaiser Heinrich IV.* [B. Schmeidler's Kaiser Heinrich IV. und seine Helfer im Investiturstreit] (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen

Institut für Geschichtsforschung, XLIII. 1-2); Johann Albrecht von Rantzau, *Friedrich von Gentz und die Politik* [outlines of his political theory] (*ibid.*); Georg Bessel, *Preussentum und Hanseatentum und ihre Bedeutung für die Entstehung des Deutschen Reiches* [creation of modern German world-power in nineteenth century, led on political side by Prussia, on economic side by trade of Bremen and, later, Hamburg, with Americas] (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, May); Ludwig Dehio, *Die Taktik der Opposition während des Konflikts* [Prussia, 1866] (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXL. 2); Otto, Count zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Bismarck and his American Friends* (Motley, Bancroft, Taylor, White) (*Virginia Quarterly Review*, July); Baron Beyens, *Deux Années à Berlin, 1912-1914*, VI. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1); Major-General C. E. Pollock, *Reminiscences of Germany Ten Years Ago* (*National Review*, July).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: Paul Bonnenfant, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la Belgique, Janvier à Juin, 1928* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, January).

The governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands have agreed to publish the diplomatic correspondence relating to the treaties of 1839. The publication will take the form of a *grey book* in each country.

Eigenkerken en Bisschoppelijk Gezag in het Diocees Utrecht tot de XIII^e Eeuw. is a learned study by R. R. Post of the juridical position of benefices under individual patronage (*Bijdragen van het Instituut voor Middeleeuwsche Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, fasc. 13; Utrecht, Kemink, 1928, pp. vi, 260).

A neglected feature of the Dutch struggle against Philip II. is explained in the *English Historical Review* for July, in an article on Some Pamphlets of the Revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, by R. N. Carew Hunt. The pamphlet literature of the Huguenot movement has been widely studied and its theories of the state defined, which has not been done hitherto for the Dutch pamphlets of the period. The author of this article finds that the Dutch pamphleteers fell under the influence of Huguenot ideas and adopted the contractual theory of government, which they continued to hold even after their French teachers, in 1585 when Henry of Navarre became heir to the throne, had gone over to the doctrine of hereditary right.

What seems to the present generation a reversal of rôles is the subject of *Le Problème de la Sécurité de la Belgique et des Pays-Bas à l'Avènement du Second Empire*, by Professor Michel Huisman (Brussels, Imprimerie Médicale et Scientifique, 1928), of the University of Brussels. It originally appeared in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, and describes the negotiations between the two countries, alarmed by the possibilities of the policy of Napoleon III.

A fifth edition of vol. I. of Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, Lamertin) embodies a careful revision of the pre-Carolingian section, taking account of works published since 1909, the date of the first edition.

An article of interest by Z. W. Sneller is *La Naissance de l'Industrie Rurale dans les Pays-Bas aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* [wool, flax, and cotton industries in Overijssel and Brabant, 1585-1795] (*Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, April).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Sudreys in Early Viking Times by D. W. Hunter Marshall, which won the Robert Locke Bemner Prize last year, consists of five short studies of controverted points, setting forth with much acumen what the author thinks probable (Glasgow, 1929).

In the *Historisk Tidsskrift* (1928, 4), Halvdan Koht replies to critics in an article entitled *Innlegg i Stridsspørsmål*. Koht argues for the establishment of the chronology of early Norwegian history on a new basis, which would make the first Norwegian kings considerably later than has usually been assumed.

A recent contribution to the literature of Danish history for the eventful years 1863-1864 is a study by Aage Friis of certain "Conversations" engaged in by C. N. David of the Danish council of state and Sir Augustus Paget, the British minister at the Danish court (*C. N. David, Christian IX. og Sir Augustus Paget i November, 1863*, Copenhagen, 1929, pp. 116). The study (which was originally published in the Danish *Historisk Tidsskrift*, series IX., vol. VI.) deals with the history of the movement to incorporate Schleswig with Denmark into a Danish constitutional monarchy.

The government of Poland has issued in connection with the recent Polish General Exposition at Poznań two monographs, one giving in photographic reproductions documents illustrative of the financial accounts of the older Polish republic, the other reproducing many of the most notable documents upon which Polish territorial claims were based. There are, for example, the act by which Jagello in 1385 united the grand duchy of Lithuania to Poland and the charter of 1454 which incorporated Prussia in Poland. The documents are accompanied by descriptions, in a few cases by transcripts, in Polish and translations in French. The editor is Joseph Siemieński.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Oscar A. Johnsen, *Organization des Recherches pour l'Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Norvégiens pendant les Temps Modernes jusqu'au XVIII^e Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, November, 1928); Paul Gronski, *Le Traité Lituanien-Suédois de Keidany* [18 Août, 1655] (*ibid.*); Folke Lindberg, *Bernadotte och Walcherenexpeditionen* (*Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1929, 2); Sophus Larsen, *Jomsborg, dens Beliggenhed og Historie* (*Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyn-*

dighed, 1928); Aage Friis, *Nordiske Undersøgelser af de Russiske Statsarkiver* [Northern Research in the state archives in Russia] (Historisk Tidsskrift, 1929, 6); Bartlett Brebner, *Currents of Russian Revolution* (Political Science Quarterly, June).

L. M. L.

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST

General Review: W. L. Langer, *Recent Books on the History of the Near East* (Journal of Modern History, September).

The life of the religious pacifist and founder of the Bohemian Brethren is described by Carl Vogl under the title *Peter Cheltschizki; ein Prophet an der Wende der Zeiten* (Zürich and Leipzig, Rotapfel, 1928, pp. 269).

Histoire Tchecoslovaque, by Jaroslav Prokeš (Prague, Orbis Publishing Company, 1929), deals comprehensively, and yet concisely, with the history of the two peoples to the outbreak of the war. A chapter is added by Jaroslav Papausek on the Czechoslovak movement as far as the establishment of the republic.

Miss A. Heyberger, an American of Czech descent, has written an account of the life of *Jean Amos Comenius (Komenský); sa Vie et son Oeuvre d'Éducateur* (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. ix, 280).

M. Edith Durham, well known for her volume on *The Crime of Serajevo*, has brought together her studies of Albania and Montenegro under the title of *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. 318, \$6.50). Although primarily concerned with anthropological or sociological facts, the author touches the history of the region. Moreover, it is the background of tribal custom which makes clear much that to the Western mind is inexplicable in the history of these peoples.

L'Arménie et la Proche Orient (Paris, Geuthner, 1928, pp. 364, 30 fr.), translated from the Swedish of Fridtjof Nansen, is an account of a recent journey to the desert of Sardarabad in the Armenian republic, to determine for the Council of the League of Nations whether through irrigation a refuge could be created for the thousands of Armenians dispersed by the war. It includes several chapters on the history of the Armenians.

The *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, originally under the editorship of the late René Bassett, dean of the faculty of Algiers, and of his son, the late Henri Bassett, director of the Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, now edited by E. Lévi-Provençal, present director of the institute, has reached the third volume of which two fascicules have appeared. The publication of vol. IV. is proceeding simultaneously. Vol. III. opens with the letter L (Paris, Picard).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Valentine O'Hara, *Hungary and the Hapsburg Restoration* (Nineteenth Century, August); Joseph Matl, *Das Politische und Kulturelle Werden der Südslaven* [early times to present] (Preussische Jahrbücher, May); William Miller, *The Completion of the Greek Republic* (Contemporary Review, July).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Those who associate the early history of the English East India Company with nabobs and lakhs of rupees would be edified by J. Ovington's *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, originally printed in 1696, and now edited by H. G. Rawlinson (London, Milford, 1929, 12 s. 6 d.). Ovington served for a short time as chaplain in the factory at Surat. It was governed more strictly than a college at Oxford, the gates guarded day and night by porters to keep out ambiguous persons, and the factors being expected to attend prayers daily. They dined with high solemnity, ministered to by English and Portuguese as well as native cooks.

Bulletin no. 11 of the American Council of Learned Societies (June, 1929) contains, in addition to the record of the Council and its committees, the proceedings of the Second Conference on the Promotion of Chinese Studies, held in Cambridge on Apr. 4, 1929. It includes also a report on the tenth annual meeting of the International Union of Academies, at Brussels, May 13-15, 1929.

A sumptuously illustrated description of about 120 examples of early Chinese bronzes is given in the first volume of the *Catalogue of the George Eumorfopoulos Collection of Chinese Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery and Miscellaneous Objects*, by W. Perceval Yetts (London, Benn, 1929, £12 12 s.). Five other volumes are to follow. This set has been preceded by six volumes devoted to ceramics and two to paintings and frescoes in this remarkable Collection.

A notable product of the Lazarist Mission in China is *Grandeur et Suprématie de Peking*, par Alph. Hubrecht, C.M. (Peking, Imprimerie des Lazaristes du Pé-t'ang, Lazar and Company). It is virtually a history of Imperial China, richly illustrated. In the descriptive section are accounts of court life and the palaces, temples and tombs of the imperial city. The author deplors their present state of neglect and ruin because of their high artistic value and their relation to the older Chinese culture.

The *Shirin* or *Journal of History* for July, a quarterly review published by the Japanese Historical Society, includes an article by Professor N. Yano on "Lord Amherst's Embassy to China". Among the "Miscellanies" is part XXXI. of Professor S. Amanuma's *Guide to the Study of Historical Architecture in Japan*.

Two other books of interest are: Oskar Nachod, *Geschichte von Japan*, Bd. 2, Hälfte 1 (Leipzig, Verlag d. Asia Major) [Veröffentlichungen hrsg. vom Japaninstitut]; René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient* (Geuthner).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Herbert H. Gowen, "*The Indian Machiavelli*", or *Political Theory Two Thousand Years Ago* [Kautilya, a Brahman of the fourth century B.C.] (*Political Science Quarterly*, June); Lieut.-Commander P. J. Searles, *The Naval Hero of Korea* [Admiral Yi] (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, July).

AMERICA

GENERAL

The Library of Congress has received the following accessions of manuscripts: papers and photostats of William Henry Harrison, 1793-1841; diaries and letters of (Sir) Augustus John Foster (envoy to the United States), 1798-1844; memorandum book of Commodore Edward Preble, 1803-1806; letters and papers of Commodore John Rodgers, Samuel Barron, and Thomas Macdonough; papers of Albert Smith of Maine, concerning the Northeast Boundary, of Hugh L. White, and of Benjamin Tappan; letters to Thomas Ewing, 1857-1858; letter-books of Henry Hotze and accompanying Confederate correspondence, 1861-1865; papers of Daniel A. Tompkins of North Carolina, and large collections of those of Senator and Secretary William E. Chandler and Secretary Daniel S. Lamont; a useful collection of negro papers.

A building for the national archives at Washington has been brought one step nearer by the action of the Department of Justice on Aug. 8 in beginning condemnation proceedings to acquire three squares which lie between Pennsylvania Avenue and B Street, Ninth and Tenth streets.

Vol. II. of *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, edited by Helen Tunnicliff Catterall (Mrs. Ralph C. H.), has now been published (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1929, pp. 661). This volume covers the "Cases from the Courts of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee", vol. I. (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII. 330) covering the "Cases from the Courts of England, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky".

The State Department at Washington is to publish the texts of all treaties negotiated by the United States. David Hunter Miller is to edit the series.

The Boulder Conference on the history of the trans-Mississippi West was held at the University of Colorado, June 18-21, 1929, and was attended by a score of scholars chiefly interested in this field of investigation, and by a considerable number of teachers and students whose attendance was made possible by the fact that the summer quarter of the university was just opening. The arrangements, carefully and thoughtfully made by Professor James F. Willard, were supported at every point by President George Norlin and Milo G. Derham, dean of the summer quarter. There were sessions devoted to formal papers, informal round table discussions, friendly arguments at the Hotel Boulderado, and

on the trips into the foot-hills, and there was one public, full-length address, in which Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, made a brilliant synthesis of his prolonged studies in the planting of the northern frontier posts of New Spain. Under the heading "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands" he defended Spain as a colonizer and Spanish culture against the thought that it had weakly crumbled under the attack of the invader from the United States. The other papers, all of them scholarly and pertinent, were devoted to more limited themes and more technical treatment.

At the opening session of the conference there were three papers on Western missions. The career of "Nicholas Point, Jesuit Missionary in Montana of the 'Forties", was developed by the Rev. G. J. Garraghan, S.J., of St. Louis University, who utilized the extensive journals and letters of this missionary among the Flatheads and the Blackfeet. Professor C. B. Goodykoontz, of the University of Colorado, then discussed "Home Missions and Education", working from the records of the missionary societies, and showing the connection between frontier cultures and the conscious effort of those who remained at home to control the thought of the frontier. The final paper, contributed by Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College (who was himself absent), dealt with "Undeveloped Factors in the Life of Marcus Whitman", and tended to re-establish Whitman as the religious statesman of the Oregon frontier.

There were two other sessions of formal papers, allotted respectively to Western transportation and the West in American literature. At the former of these Dr. L. R. Hafen, of the State Historical Society of Colorado, spoke on "Handcart Migration across the Plains", Professor John C. Parish, of the University of California at Los Angeles, on "By Sea to California", and Professor Louis Pelzer, of the University of Iowa, on "Trails of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Frontier". In the first of these Dr. Hafen had gathered materials from the Mormon sources to sketch a vivid picture of the ill-fated handcart caravan of 1856. Dr. Parish drew upon unusual sources to describe the mobilization of shipping that took place when the news of California gold reached the Eastern states. Professor Pelzer discussed the "long drive". On the next afternoon Professor Percy H. Boynton, of the University of Chicago, spoke on "The Conquest of the Pioneer", Professor Walter S. Campbell, of the University of Oklahoma, on "The Plains Indians—in Literature and Life", and Professor Lucy L. Hazard, of Mills College, on "The American Picaresque: a By-Product of the Frontier". The last of these made novel suggestions of a line of literary descent from Jesse James to "get-rich-quick" Wallingford; and argued that the rogue in American folk-lore is derived from the frontier rascals in whom the spirit of Robin Hood has been perpetuated.

There were three round table sessions, each devoted to two papers. Dr. S. J. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society, made a plea for specialization among the societies, and for a better coöperation in the

preservation of the ephemera of history. Professor W. P. Webb, of the University of Texas, broke new ground on "The Industrial Revolution and the Great Plains", maintaining the thesis that the utilization of the treeless, subhumid plains was beyond the technique of the farmer until through the industrial revolution he acquired new tools: the Colt revolver which first placed the mounted frontiersman on a fighting equality with the arrow-armed mounted Comanche; the windmill which first opened range possibilities to the cattleman who had no water rights; barbed-wire which cut the cost of cowboys; and agricultural machinery without which dry farming could not exist.

Professor E. C. Barker, of the University of Texas, at another session, re-examined the sources for the outbreak of the Mexican War, defending Polk against the charge of a conscious desire to provoke the war. Dr. Joseph Schafer, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, discussed "The Problems of an Agricultural Survey for a Western State". His paper was an apt illustration of the theme "Geographic Influences", in which Professor Carl Sauer, of the University of California, argued against the harsh separation of history and geography, and maintained that the civilization of a region is as much a part of its geography as are its topography and its resources. The concluding paper on "Finance and the Frontier", by Professor F. L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, posed a long series of questions, essential to an understanding of the frontier for which the historian has as yet no answer.

It is rumored that most of the papers of the conference will be printed in a special volume to be published by the University of Colorado.

F. L. P.

In the *Forty-fourth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, covering the year ending on June 30, 1927, the chief of the bureau, Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, mentions among other things a preliminary survey of remains in the piedmont region, leading him to believe that the archeology of this region would well repay investigation. The report contains four papers: the Exploration of the Burton Mount at Santa Barbara, by John P. Harrington; Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians, by John R. Swanton; Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians, by Frances Densmore; and the second part of a report in detail of Archeological Investigations, by Gerard Fowke. The bureau has also issued several *Bulletins*: No. 86 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is *Chippewa Customs* (pp. 204), by Frances Densmore, which covers essentially the whole life of the Chippewa. This study, carried out among the several groups of Chippewas in Minnesota and Wisconsin and one in Canada, has extended over a period of about twenty years, and records essential facts pertaining to clothing, food, mode of life in the wigwam, treatment of the sick, industrial methods and accomplishments (weaving, basketry, pottery, etc.), decorative arts, amusements, beliefs, and teachings, and many customs

scarcely suggested by these terms. No. 89 contains *Observations on the Thunder Dance of the Fox Indians*, by Truman Michelson, and no. 92, *Shabik'eschee Village: a Late Basket Maker Site in the Chaco Canyon, New Mexico*, by Frank H. H. Roberts, jr.

In an article entitled *Some Facts in the Early Missionary History of the Northwest*, printed in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, June number, Father Peter J. Paul, O.S.A., of the Catholic University of America, discusses the Marcus Whitman legend, while John W. McFadden contributes some Notes for a History of Catholicism in Holmesburg and Northeast Philadelphia. The history of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, 1855-1928, by a member of the sisterhood, is continued.

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July Dr. J. G. Randall writes a discriminating review of "Lincoln in the Rôle of Dictator", and finds that his use of extraordinary powers was prompted by a difficult situation rather than by an autocratic temperament. The history of "The League of Nations and the Saar" is sketched by Harold G. Villard, who concludes that the Governing Commission has been too much the representative of French aims. Those who are interested in the organs of British public opinion at the opening of the Civil War will find a valuable survey in Dr. Harry D. Jordan's *The Daily and Weekly Press in England in 1861*.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Vol. XX. of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (Paris, Au Siège de la Société, 1928, pp. xxiii, 589) continues the essay of the late R. de Kerallain upon Bougainville, with copious excerpts from Bougainville's journal. This section deals with the operations of the Comte de Grasse in the American Revolutionary War. It includes the defeat of De Grasse at Saintes in 1782. The volume also contains the results of anthropological, linguistic, and archeological studies of Indian culture in the Americas, and concludes with a detailed bibliography of the recent publications within the field.

A new volume has appeared in the series on the History of American Life, *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848*, by Professor Herbert Ingram Priestley (Macmillan).

An important addition to bibliographical instruments is the *Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History, 1600-1800, in the City of New York*, by Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris (Columbia University Press).

The Johns Hopkins University has brought out, as one of its Semi-centennial Publications, *The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson: his Commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets*, with an introduction by Gilbert Chinard, professor in the university. One would infer that Professor Chinard regards this book as in some respects more important

for our knowledge of Jefferson than that other *Commonplace Book* (published by the university in 1926, with an introduction by Professor Chinard), containing a repertory of Jefferson's ideas on government; for his political views are readily deducible from his correspondence. But Jefferson kept no diary to which he confided his inner thoughts and emotions, and, except in a few instances in his youth and the reflections of his latter years, the same is true of his letters. He "jealously guarded all access" to his "secret garden". Accordingly, Professor Chinard declares, "this second *Commonplace Book* is the missing complement of *Jefferson's Bible*; it is quite as necessary for a true understanding of the personality of the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence and formulated the democratic creed of America".

Nevertheless in this book, which concerns the less familiar Jefferson, we are on speculative ground. The limits of this note prevent our following Professor Chinard through his whole analysis of the man who found these passages of such importance for his thought and life that he recorded them in a book; but that he was widely and deeply read in the classics is evident enough, and the fact that the quotations in so large a measure pertain to the problems of life (and death) show that he pondered these problems deeply. That he passed through a religious crisis also appears to be evidenced by many quotations in this book, and by much other evidence as well. It is not certain, however, that every one will agree with Professor Chinard in all his conclusions. That Jefferson actually for a time (during the two or three years following the jilting) became a woman hater is questionable. Possibly the collection of passages disparaging women has no more serious significance than "waggish pleasure" or "curious propensity" (Introduction, p. 22). (In the matter of typographical errors this reviewer has a fairly tough conscience; but when he read that Jefferson went through a crisis of "mosigyny" (p. 31), his corporeal seismograph registered a distinct shock.) Altogether Professor Chinard, in his introduction of forty pages, has given us exceedingly interesting glimpses of Jefferson, casting light on phases of his life and character which are not likely to find place in any text-book of the Democratic party.

A History of the Medical Department of the United States Army, by Percy M. Ashburn, with an introduction by Surgeon General Merritte W. Ireland, has been published by Houghton Mifflin.

In the series "Histoires de France" the Vicomte de Montbas has a charming account of one phase of Lafayette's visit to America in 1784, *Avec Lafayette chez les Iroquois* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1929, pp. 131). It is chiefly drawn from the letters of Barbé-Marbois, then French chargé d'affaires and consul general, and deals with the mission sent by the Congress to treat with the Indians of Western New York with which Lafayette was associated.

At a recent session of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* M. Lacour-Gayet described the funeral services held by order of the

First Consul on Feb. 9, 1800, at the church of the Invalides (then called the Temple of Mars) in honor of Washington. M. Lacour-Gayet also recalled a report by Talleyrand, proposing a statue for Washington, which contained a remarkable prevision of the destiny of the United States.

Another graphic presentation of the disconcerting spectacle of American life in the 'seventies has been made by Claude G. Bowers in *The Tragic Era* (Houghton Mifflin).

The Protection of Citizens Abroad by the Armed Forces of the United States, by Milton Offutt (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, pp. viii, 170, \$1.50), is a painstaking study of the occasions upon which American forces have operated on foreign soil for the protection of American citizens, beginning with the occupation of Nukahiva, Marquesas, in 1813, and ending with operations in China in 1926. Seventy-six cases are given. Of these more than half were in the West Indian region. A final chapter presents the author's conclusions on the policy of the United States, distinguishing practice in Latin America, the Far East, and Oceania.

When the Tide Turned in the Civil War, by Martha Nicholson McKay (Indianapolis, Hollenbeck Press, 1929, pp. 54), is an essay, written in a spirit of warm admiration, upon Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Regiment. The author believes that the organization of this regiment and the share it had in the attack on Fort Wagner were critical for the success of the Union government.

Apropos of the questions raised by the operations of the Franco-German potash cartel in the American market Professor John G. Hervey, of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, has discussed in the *Michigan Law Review*, of May, 1929, the legal history of the Immunity of Foreign States when Engaged in Commercial Enterprises and has added a Proposed Solution.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The *New England Quarterly* for July contains two articles of interest to students of social history: *Early New England Magazines for Ladies*, by Bertha M. Stearns, and *Topographical Terms in Seventeenth-Century Records*, by Clarice E. Tyler. The latter, besides throwing light upon the growth of a vocabulary, will be of utility to readers of colonial records. In the section of Memoranda and Documents are printed "Six Letters of Joel Barlow to Oliver Wolcott", the son of the signer of the Declaration of Independence. They were written in 1779 when Barlow was a graduate student at Yale, while Wolcott was studying law at Litchfield. Both had been members of the class of 1778 at Yale.

The tenth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society (pp.

xv, 436), contains the records of proceedings in three sessions, those of Feb.-Apr., and May-Nov., 1731, and Dec., 1731-Feb., 1732. The main matters are the struggle between Governor Belcher and the assembly over the refusal of the latter to grant him a regular salary, and the similar contest over methods of meeting the provincial expenses, but there is a great affluence of information on lesser historical matters.

The history of the early New England population is made up of many emigrations from the British Isles. One of these, from Ulster in 1718, and especially the band which found its ultimate destination on the hill-tops of Blandford, is the subject of Sumner Gilbert Wood's *Ulster Scots and Blandford Scouts* (West Medway, Mass., the author, 1928, pp. 436, \$5.00). The early chapters deal with the characteristics of the Ulster plantation, from which the emigration was drawn. Another interesting phase of the story is the determination of the Blandford group to keep their Presbyterian polity and teaching, and their final defeat by circumstances, followed by absorption into Massachusetts Congregationalism.

The July number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains an article by Rudolph Said-Ruete on the Relations of Said Bin Sultan with the United States of America. The contributions of G. G. Putnam and L. F. Middlebrook, namely: Salem Vessels and their Voyages, and the Frigate *South Carolina*, are continued.

Salem in the eighteenth century, as illustrated in the life of a prominent shipmaster, is the subject of an essay on the *Life and Times of Richard Derby, Merchant of Salem*, by James Duncan Phillips (Cambridge, Riverside Press, pp. 116). The account is supplemented by the wills of three generations of Derbys and the deeds granted to Richard Derby or by him.

The *Annual Report* of the Connecticut Historical Society records the acquisition of numerous manuscripts of value, particularly for Connecticut history. Among those of wider interest are copies (three volumes) of orders, letters, etc. (Mar. 11, 1861-June 21, 1862), of Gideon Welles as Secretary of the Navy, and the court records of William Pynchon at Springfield, Mass., 1639-1658 (photocopies). The society has also made several additions to its collection of Fifth of March orations (commemorating the Boston Massacre), and now lacks only the orations of 1777, 1782, and 1783.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* for July continues the Revolutionary War letters of Col. William Douglas, and prints, from the original in possession of the society, the official order of proceedings for conducting the inauguration of President Washington in 1789.

Among the contents of the July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, besides continued articles, are an article

upon the Grevenraedt family, with notes on the allied families of De Riemer, Gouverneur, and Meyer, compiled by John R. Totten; and the minutes of the Committee of Safety of the Manor of Livingston, Columbia County, N. Y., contributed by Kate S. Curry.

The dedicatory exercises of the reconstructed building of the Buffalo Historical Society were held on May 20, 1929. The historical address was delivered by Dr. John H. Finley.

The June number of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library is mainly occupied with the annual report for the year 1928. Among the acquisitions that may be noted are: a letter-book (1781-1792), minute-book (1779-1783), and other military papers of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Grosvenor of the Connecticut line of the Continental army, including a contemporary copy of a diary of Lieutenant Obadiah Gore, kept during Sullivan's expedition of 1779, and photocopies of the town minutes of Salem, N. Y. (1788-1841). The July and August numbers contain some family correspondence (1830-1904) of Herman Melville, drawn from the library's Gansevoort-Lansing collection.

Under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America, and forming pts. 1 and 2 of vol. XXI. of its *Papers*, Louis H. Fox, chief of the Newspaper Division of the New York Public Library, has prepared *New York City Newspapers, 1820-1850: A Bibliography* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. 130). The method by which the entries are made, and the careful use of all available sources of information, make this bibliography an indispensable instrument of work for historians of the period. And the period is of special interest not only because of significant political changes, but because it saw the rise of the penny press, occasionally in its most sensational form. An important source of information which the author has utilized is the *New York City Directory*, which with the issue of 1832-1833 began to furnish lists of newspapers published in New York. In listing newspapers the author gives dates indicating the time during which each journal was published. If a change of name was radical a different entry has been made. The names of the editors and publishers, and, in a few cases, of noteworthy contributors, are also given. One of the most useful characteristics of the work is the list of issues which may be found in each of four libraries: the New York Public Library, the libraries of the New York Historical Society and of the American Antiquarian Society, and the Library of Congress.

An attractive volume on the history of Long Island is entitled *Long Island's Story*, and the author is Jacqueline Overton (Doubleday, Doran).

The July number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contains among other articles the address, entitled "At the Sign of the Unicorn", delivered May 4 last by Hon. Charles W. Parker at the unveiling, in St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy, of a tablet erected by the Society of Colonial Wars to the memory of George Scot, his wife

and daughter, Dr. John Johnstone, and two hundred other exiles from Scotland who came to Perth Amboy in 1685.

The Trenton Historical Society has published a substantial *History of Trenton* in two volumes (Princeton, Princeton University Press) which will be reviewed here at an early date.

The attractive *Year Book* (1929) of the Pennsylvania Society, edited by Robert J. Spence, contains the usual records of the society's proceedings and activities with a number of addresses.

In the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Mr. M. Jackson Crispin continues his paper on Captain William Crispin, Dr. Alexander C. Flick contributes a biography of Captain Gerlach Paul Flick, Pennsylvania Pioneer, and Harold E. Gillingham an article on Old Business Cards of Philadelphia, with numerous illustrations. There are also some additional letters of Humphrey Marshall, contributed by the late John W. Harshberger, Ph.D.

No one can drive through southeastern Pennsylvania without discovering that much social history lies behind the ancient door-posts of its towns and villages, and accounts for the thrift and industry of its inhabitants. To touch characteristic features of this historical background is the aim of a small but abundantly illustrated volume by Jesse Leonard Rosenberger, *In Pennsylvania-German Land, 1928-1929* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. xiii, 91, \$1.50).

The July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a paper by Frank C. McGirr on the Allegheny County Bar in the 'Eighties, the Diary of a Pennsylvania Volunteer [James Skelly] in the Mexican War, edited by James K. Greer; and the concluding installment of the biography of Arthur St. Clair, by Ellis Beals.

The *Bulletin* of Friends' Historical Association, Spring number, contains an address by Charles Francis Jenkins on the Two Quaker Signers, Joseph Hewes and Stephen Hopkins. The account of Joseph Hewes is particularly full and corrects numerous errors in earlier accounts of him. In the section of Documents, under the title Impressions of a Norwegian Quaker in 1838, is a letter from Martha Larson, member of a Norwegian family who had settled in Rochester, N. Y., to Elias Eliassen Tastad of Stavanger, Norway, giving her impressions of American Quakerism. The letter is one of several secured in 1924 by Gunnar J. Malmin and is contributed to the *Bulletin*, with introduction and notes, by Dr. Henry J. Cadbury.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an article by Mrs. Joseph Rucker Lamar on Bellevue: the Home of the National Society of Colonial Dames; a sketch, by Henry J. Berkley, of John Henry Alexander, First Geologist of the State of Maryland; and part I. of a study of Aboriginal Maryland, 1608-1689, by Raphael Semmes.

Vol. XLVI. of the *Archives of Maryland: Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland (1748-1751)*, edited by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who succeeded the late Dr. Bernard C. Steiner as editor, covers the activities of the assembly during the last administration of Governor Samuel Ogle. Among the interesting situations upon which the records throw light are the growing opposition of the country party in majority in the lower house and the anti-Catholic movement in the session of 1751. Words uttered in the assembly so stirred Charles Carroll of Annapolis, father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, that he posted an "advertisement" on the door of the lower house, which retorted by ordering his arrest. The governor was an advocate of good roads, for we find him on May 15, 1751, declaring to the assembly that "While other Nations are improving their Commerce, by opening Canals and Shortning and mending their Roads We are lengthning Ours in many parts of the Province by windings and Turnings, and obstructing their Passage with Gates and other Incumbrances . . .".

The Public Library of the District of Columbia has issued a selected list of *Books about Washington, D. C.*, compiled by Katherine K. Patten, the curator of the remarkable Washingtoniana collection, which is a model for the assembling of important material on the history of notable cities.

Vol. III. of the *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, published by the Virginia State Library, includes the letters of Thomas Nelson and Benjamin Harrison, edited by H. R. McIlwaine (Richmond, 1929, pp. xii, 510).

In the July number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is a brief article, entitled John Tyler and the Ladies of Brazoria, respecting President Tyler's attitude toward the annexation of Texas. In July, 1845, the ladies of Brazoria County, Tex., presented Tyler with a silver pitcher as a token of their gratitude for the course he had pursued, and the correspondence in connection with the presentation is appended to the article.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has published *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, edited by Professor W. K. Boyd.

Among the articles in the July number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* are: the Sources of the North Carolina Constitution of 1776, by E. H. Ketcham; and the Farmers' Alliance, by J. D. Hicks and J. D. Barnhart.

Duke University has acquired the library of the late Francisco Perez de Velasco of Lima, Peru, which includes 3000 volumes besides old newspapers, government documents, manuscripts, and pamphlets, valuable for the history of Spanish America, and many of which, it is said, can not be duplicated.

The July number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains the Journal (presumably a first instalment only) of Captain Dunlop's Voyage to the Southward in 1687, a contribution of J. G. Dunlop, with notes by Mabel L. Webber.

Stephen Hales, D.D., F.R.S.: an Eighteenth-Century Biography, is the title of a volume by A. E. Clark-Kennedy, M.D., published by Macmillan. The volume contains an account of Hales's researches and of the part he had in the development of the colony of Georgia.

The July number of the Florida Historical Society *Quarterly* contains pt. III. of the Documents relating to El Destino and Chemonie Plantations, Middle Florida, 1828-1868, edited by Kathryn T. Abbey; an address delivered before the society in February by Harold Colee on Co-operation of State Governments with Historical Societies.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* reprints in the January number the *Biographical Sketch of Hon. Charles Gayarré*, by a Louisianian, privately printed in New Orleans in 1889. In an introduction to the sketch Mr. Henry P. Dart adduces abundant evidence to show that the writer of the sketch was Gayarré himself. An important documentary publication in this number is the judicial records (1774) in the case of "Don Joseph Loppinot vs. Juan Villeneuve for the loss of his slave, named Mulet, by drowning". The documents are translated by Laura L. Porteous, and Mr. Henry P. Dart furnishes an introduction, explaining civil procedure in Louisiana under the Spanish régime as illustrated in Loppinot's case. Another document is Banet's report to the Company of the Indies, Dec. 20, 1724, respecting the various settlements in Louisiana.

Early Printing in New Orleans, 1764-1810, by Douglas C. McMurtrie, is published in New Orleans by Searcy and Pfaff. The volume includes a bibliography of the Louisiana press.

WESTERN STATES

Students of paper money, issued in times of governmental distress, will find much of curious interest in the Currency Question on the Pacific Coast during the Civil War, by Joseph Ellison, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. Here was a people with a natural preference for hard money, from habit or because the inhabitants were miners of silver and gold. It is their reactions and the success with which they opposed the general introduction of greenbacks that is the theme of the article. In the same number is a critical review of John Bach McMaster, Historian, by William T. Hutchinson, an account of Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West, by James Alton James, who is engaged upon a biography of Pollock, and the paper which Professor F. H. Hodder presented at the Indianapolis meeting of the American Historical Association on Some Phases of the Dred Scott Case.

The *Indiana History Bulletin*, vol. VI., extra no. 1 (January), is a third edition of *Historical Markers and Public Memorials in Indiana* (preliminary and revised editions, 1921 and 1924, respectively), compiled by Jessie P. Boswell. The present edition (pp. 106) contains more than 200 additional entries and is extensively illustrated. Extra no. 2 (May, pp. 127) is *Proceedings* of the tenth annual Indiana History Conference (Dec. 7-8, 1928) and includes some historical studies: George Rogers Clark, Civilian, by Professor J. A. James, Sidelights on the Lochry Massacre, by Earl W. Crecraft, and Where did the Lincoln Family Cross the Ohio?, by Thomas J. de la Hunt.

In the June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* Wendell H. Stephenson discusses the Transitional Period in the Career of General James H. Lane, revealing an Indiana conservative in the process of becoming a Kansas radical. In the same issue Joseph E. Holliday tells the story of the Reservoir Regulators of the Canal Period, and Oscar D. Short offers one more explanation of the origin of the term "Hoosier". The Documents in the issue are six letters written from the seat of war in Mexico by young Indiana officers.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1928 includes the following papers: the Reaction of the West to the Burr Conspiracy, by Professor I. J. Cox; George Rogers Clark, Civilian, by Professor James A. James (printed also in *Indiana History Bulletin*, extra no. 2); the German Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860, and the Candidacy of Edward Bates and Abraham Lincoln in the Ensuant National Republican Convention, by Professor F. I. Herriott; Some Aftermath of the Presidential Election of 1860, by Dr. Charles P. Johnson; the Establishment of Lotteries in Illinois for the Purpose of raising Funds to improve the Public Health, by Dr. Gottfried Koehler; Forts of Old Kaskaskia, by Elbert Waller; and the Diary and Letters of Major James Austin Connolly, 1862-1865, with introduction by Judge Frank K. Dunn.

The contents of the April number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* include an article by Anna M. Green on Civil War Public Opinion of General Grant, and an historical and descriptive account, by John H. Hauberg, of Black Hawk's Mississippi, from Rock River to Bad Axe.

Beginning with the issue of July the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* becomes *Mid-America: an Historical Review*, a change of name induced by the limitations of the word "Illinois" in the former title. Now "*Mid-America* hopes to serve the region between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains as an organ of Catholic History". At the same time a new editor, Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., Ph.D., takes the helm.

To the summer number of *Michigan History Magazine*, M. M. Quaife contributes a paper on the Romance of the Mackinac Country, William

H. Steele writes on *Frontier Life in the Lake Superior Region* (1864-1873), and Henry A. Haigh gives a description of *Henry Ford's Typical Early American Village at Dearborn*. A *Typical Pioneer Family* (that of Capt. Moses Allen, "an adventurous trader" and veteran of the War of 1812) is also described by Vivian L. Mears.

Chicago: a More Intimate View of Urban Politics, by Charles Edward Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 305, \$3.50), while dealing with contemporary politics in a great American city, may enjoy the standing of a document in the judgment of the future historian of municipal affairs because of Professor Merriam's unusual opportunities of observation over a long period of years.

The *Bulletin* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. X., no. 1 (May, 1929), is a monograph entitled *Copper: its Mining and Use by the Aborigines of the Lake Superior Region* (pp. 185), being a report of the McDonald-Massee Isle Royale Expedition, by George A. West. There are numerous plates and text figures and two maps.

The Filson Club of Louisville on June 15 moved into its new building at 118 West Breckinridge Street. In the June number of the *History Quarterly of the Filson Club* Temple Bodley gives an account of the origin and nature of George Rogers Clark's two narratives describing his conquest of the Northwest, namely, his letter to George Mason and his "Memoir". This issue contains also the third and concluding part of Minute Book A, Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1781-1783, contributed by Alvin L. Prichard.

The East Tennessee Historical Society has inaugurated a series of *Publications*, with Judge Samuel C. Williams as editor. Among the articles in the first number are: *Carolina Traders among the Overhill Cherokees, 1690-1760*, by Mary U. Rothrock; *Life in East Tennessee near the End of the Eighteenth Century*, by William F. Rogers; *First Administration of Governor Andrew Johnson*, by W. M. Caskey; and the *Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier*, edited by Judge Williams.

Vol. XL. of the *Michigan Historical Collections* contains Documents relating to Detroit and Vicinity, 1805-1813, edited by Dr. G. N. Fuller (Lansing, Historical Commission, 1929, pp. 754).

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin announces for early publication vol. III. of the Constitutional series, containing the journal of the Wisconsin Constitutional Convention, 1847-1848, and a volume of *Pioneer and Political Reminiscences of Nils P. Haugen*, former member of Congress from Wisconsin, made up of articles which have appeared in the society's magazine.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June number, contains the address Carl Schurz—the American, delivered by Professor Carl Russell Fish at the Carl Schurz Convocation in Madison, on March 3; and a

paper by Louis A. Warren entitled the Lincoln and La Follette Families in Pioneer Drama. Mr. Warren traces the migrations of the Lincolns and La Follettes (also the Hankses), finding their lines more than once running parallel, or nearly so, and Lincolns and La Follettes living side by side. The document of the number is a Narrative of a Pioneer of Wisconsin and Pike's Peak, Thomas Hanford Sheldon. The editorial comment is upon Carl Schurz's Historical Output.

The June number of *Minnesota History* contains a biographical sketch, by Sister Grace McDonald, of Father Francis Pierz (1785-1880), the Slovenian missionary to the Chippewa Indians; an article by Harold F. Peterson on Some Colonization Projects of the Northern Pacific Railroad. In the section "Minnesota as seen by Travellers" are extracts from a volume of the Danish journalist and traveller, Robert Watt, who visited America in 1871. The book appeared in 1872, first with the title *Fra det Fjerne Vesten*, but in the following year was included as vol. I. in a series of three volumes bearing the general title *Hinsides Atlanterhavet*.

The larger part of the July number of the *Annals of Iowa* is occupied by a paper on the Place-Names of Lee County, Ia., by T. J. Fitzpatrick. There is also an account by F. M. Fryxell, of the life of Isaac Cody (father of Col. William F. Cody) and family in Le Claire, Ia.

In the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are the final instalment of Herbert C. Cook's paper on the Administrative Functions of the Department of Public Instruction, the first instalment of a paper by Fred W. Locke on Mark Twain in Iowa, and an article by Louis H. Roddis entitled a Cherokee County Pioneer, being a sketch of the career of Henry Roddis (1841-1913), who had pioneered in four different states.

The June number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account, by E. D. Branch, of the construction of railroads into Council Bluffs. The July number has an article entitled Captives in Dixie, being an account by Milton Rhodes of his experiences as a prisoner of war in the South.

Among the contents of the *Missouri Historical Review* for July are: George Engelmann, Man of Science, part III., by William G. Bek, Missouri Politics during the Civil War, second article, by Sceva B. Laughlin, and Reminiscences of Official Life in Jefferson City, 1865-1875, by Cyrus Thompson.

The April number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* includes an article by Harold E. Briggs on Pioneer River Transportation in Dakota and the concluding chapters of Louis A. Tohill's biography of Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi.

Among the articles in the July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: the Beginnings of the Texas State Historical Association, by Mrs. Bride N. Taylor; the Significance of the Destruction of the

Buffalo in the Southwest, by C. C. Rister; and an Anonymous Description of New Mexico, 1818, edited by Alfred B. Thomas.

The June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains an account, by Grant Foreman, of Captain Nathaniel Pryor, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who spent the last ten years of his life within the bounds of the present Oklahoma. T. E. Beck furnishes a brief account of Cimarron Territory, the self-constituted government organized in 1887 in the bit of "No Man's Land" between Texas and Kansas, which flourished in a way until the territory was attached to Oklahoma.

The July number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains an article concerning the Scene of Fremont's Disaster in the San Juan Mountains, 1848, by Frank C. Spencer. Documentary items are a portion of the diary of George F. Clark, described in a journey from Council Bluffs to Denver in May and June, 1860, and extracts of some letters of James T. Gardiner relating to the Hayden survey in Colorado in 1873 and 1874. Roger W. Toll furnishes some explanatory notes to the letters.

Mexican Labor in the United States Valley of the South Platte, Colorado (University of California Publications in Economics, vol. VI., no. 2, pp. 95-235), by Paul S. Taylor, is the second of Mr. Taylor's studies of Mexican labor in the United States (for a note concerning the first, see this *Review*, XXXIV. 942). The present study is concerned with Mexican labor in the sugar beet fields, to which there is a tide of migration every spring, with a corresponding recession of the tide in the autumn, although each annual wave, the author explains, has left its residue of Mexicans who do not recede with the tide, but winter in the region or in the cities of the north, where some of them pass into the basic industries there and do not return. The treatment of the subject in this instance is along the same lines and in the same admirable manner which characterized the previous study.

Mr. John P. Clum contributes to the July number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* an interesting account of his use of the Apache Indians as police when he was in charge of the San Carlos agency, 1874-1878. This issue contains also the "Noticias" (original and translation) of Juan Candelaria of the villa of San Francisco Xavier of Albuquerque, written about 1776. The Spanish transcript was contributed by Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley and the translation supplied by Don Isidore Armijo of Sante Fé.

Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez have published *A Short History of California* (Crowell).

Two further articles in the series on the history of science in the state of Washington appear in the July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, namely: Notes on the History of Botany in the State of Washington, by George B. Rigg, and a History of Chemical Education in the State of Washington, by H. K. Benson. Among other articles are:

Anti-Chinese Riots in Washington (1885), by W. P. Wilcox; Fort Benton's Part in the Development of the West, by Asa A. Wood; and the History of Tatoosh Island, by Winifred Elyea.

In the June number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, F. W. Howay discusses some aspects of the Voyages of Kendrick and Gray, 1787-1790; Miss Nellie B. Pipes discourses briefly upon later affairs of John Kendrick, contributing some letters (1792-1798) to Joseph Barrell, principal promoter of the expedition, and a circular letter (1816) from Charles Bulfinch, another of the promoters (other Barrell letters were contributed by Mr. Howay to the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. XII.); W. N. Sage and T. C. Elliott present some information respecting the arrival of Governor George Simpson at Astoria in 1824, together with a section of the John Work Journal (Oct. 18 to Nov. 17, 1824) preceding that printed in vol. III. of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*; and John M. Canse contributes the fifth and final instalment of the Log of the *Lausanne*, kept by Henry Bridgman Brewer.

Through the efforts of the Trail Seekers Council of Portland, Oregon, a tablet was dedicated on August 24 upon the spot from which Lieut. W. R. Broughton of the Royal Navy saw and named Mount Hood on October 30, 1792. The occasion was an international event, for by special arrangement between the two governments concerned a detachment of British seamen and marines and British officers, including the commander of H. M. S. *Colombo*, were present as guests.

The thirty-seventh *Annual Report* of the Hawaiian Historical Society (1928) contains a paper by R. S. Kuykendall on Some Early Commercial Adventurers of Hawaii, one by Albert P. Taylor on Lahaina: the Versailles of Old Hawaii, and one by Riley H. Allen on Hawaii's Pioneers in Journalism.

The excellent book on the *Governance of Hawaii*, by Robert M. C. Littler (Stanford University, 1929), contains chapters on geography and history. The author's main purpose is to explain why the government of Hawaii has been so successful.

CANADA

On May 22 and 23 a movement was begun at Ottawa to revive the Canadian Political Science Association, which was one of the casualties during the Great War. Almost all the Canadian universities were represented, and the effort seems to have every prospect of success.

The Canadian Historical Review, vol. X., no. 1 (March, 1929), contains an article by Professor W. T. Morgan, of Indiana University, on the struggle for North America, especially after 1658, from a point of view suggested by the title, English Fear of "Encirclement" in the Seventeenth Century. John P. Pritchett, of Queen's University, in the So-called Fenian Raid on Manitoba, describes the attempt of William

B. O'Donoghue and thirty or more miscellaneous "liberators" to seize in 1871 what they called Rupert's land and the North-West Territory, British America. There is also an article on Papineau in Exile by Norah Story. In the June number of the same review, Professor F. H. Underhill, of the University of Toronto, describes Canada's Relations with the Empire as seen by the *Toronto Globe*, 1857-1867. Incidentally several excerpts from this influential journal show that the editor was opposed to the attitude of the British government towards the United States during the Civil War. There is also an article on the Command of the Canadian Army for the Campaign of 1777, by Jane Clark, whose article on another aspect of the same campaign will shortly be published by this *Review*.

Four Centuries of Medical History in Canada; and a Sketch of the Medical History of Newfoundland, in two volumes, by John J. Heagerty, M.D., is published by Macmillan.

Explorers and empire builders as well as fur traders were *The Wintering Partners on Peace River*, whose story is told by J. N. Wallace, B.A. (Trinity College, Dublin), Dominion land surveyor, from the "Earliest Records to the Union in 1821" (Ottawa, Thornburn and Abbott, 1929, pp. 139, \$2.00). This date marked the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. In the latter the actual traders were agents or officials, while in the former they were partners, and often the most influential, hence the picturesque title of the book. The scene is the northern section of the present Alberta. The author has drawn his material chiefly from the Canadian archives.

In the *Transactions* of the London (Canada) and Middlesex Historical Society (1929, pt. XIII.), Rev. M. A. Garland describes Some Frontier and American Influences in Upper Canada prior to 1837. The period is interesting because it closed with the so-called rebellion of that year. The changes which were making the people of the United States more democratic could hardly fail to awaken echoes across the lakes. The author has added a bibliography which will be of value to other students of the period.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. M. Sakolski, *American Speculative Manias, Past and Present* (Current History, August); Elizabeth S. Kite, *Early Phases of the History of Independence as it developed in the British Colonies of North America* (Calcutta Review, April); L. H. Bolander, *An Incident in the Founding of the American Navy* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, June); John Ross, *Ross of Bladensburg* (National Review, May); Livingston Hunt, *Our Last Yardarm Fight, the "Wasp" and the "Reindeer"* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, June); Lieut. R. R. Raymond, jr., *Fort Sumter* (Coast Artillery Journal, August); B. H. Liddell-Hart, *Strategy and the American War* (Quarterly Review, July); Maj. F. B. Jordan, *From the Rapidan to the James: the Wilderness* (Infantry Journal, June); Mary Frear,

Did President Wilson Contradict himself on Secret Treaties? (Current History, June).

MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN

Three of the four articles appearing in the August number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, namely: Spanish Projects for the Reoccupation of the Floridas during the American Revolution, by Kathryn T. Abbey, Spanish Reaction to Foreign Aggression in the Caribbean to about 1680, by Roland D. Hussey, and the Reaction in England and America to the Capture of Havana, 1762, by Nelson V. Russell, are papers read at the Indianapolis meeting of the American Historical Association in December last. The fourth article, the Ecclesiastical Policy of Maximilian of Mexico, by N. Andrew N. Cleven, is an enlargement of a paper read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in New Orleans in 1927. One of the documents in this issue is a translation of a letter from the Archbishop of Cosenza to Petrus de Acosta (1520), contributed, with an introduction, by Henry R. Wagner, and properly belonging, as explained by the editor, with the series of documents contributed by Mr. Wagner to the May number. Another document is a letter from Alexander M. Clayton to J. F. H. Claiborne relative to Cuban affairs in 1853 and 1854, contributed, with introduction, by Charles S. Sydnor. A third document, contributed, with an introduction, by Leslie B. Simpson, is an account by Maese Joan of eight years spent as a castaway on the Serrana Keys in the Caribbean Sea, 1528-1536. This narrative, says Mr. Wagner, has striking resemblances to that of *Robinson Crusoe*. "Here, however", he remarks, "across the centuries comes the story of a Spanish sailor who met and overcame difficulties that make Robinson Crusoe seem like the spoilt darling of fortune."

The Mexican government has published a second volume (Mexico City, 1929) of the index of important state papers relating to Mexico to be found in the Archivo de Indias of Seville, *Indice de Documentos de Nueva España Existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla*, 451 pages.

Historia de la Isla y Catedral de Cuba, by Pedro Augustin Morell de Santa Cruz (Havana, Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1929), now published for the first time on the basis of the original text, is said to be the earliest known history of Cuba. Its author was Bishop of Havana during the 18th century and the work was completed about 1760. The present publication embraces only the first three volumes of the work, covering the period from the discovery to 1659, as the remainder of the manuscript has been lost. The book is a narrative of the discovery and conquest of the island, and a detailed history of the bishops of Cuba during the period which it covers.

Cuba y de los Estados Unidos, by Cosme de la Torriente, with a preface by James Brown Scott (Havana, 1929), is a collection of speeches de-

livered between 1917 and 1928 by one of the most prominent contemporary Cuban statesmen. Señor de la Torre has been senator, president of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and ambassador to the United States. The earlier speeches in the book were delivered in the Cuban Senate at the time of Cuba's entry into the World War. The remainder deal with various phases of Cuba's relations with the United States and with other international questions.

SOUTH AMERICA

General review: Lucien Febvre, *Études Sud-Américaines* (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, April).

The government of Venezuela, by executive decree, in July, appropriated the sum of 160,000 bolivars (about \$32,000) for the publication of the "Archivo del Generalísimo Francisco Miranda", which comprises the manuscript collection of the Miranda diaries and letters now in the possession of the Venezuelan Academy of History. This sum is immediately available, and will, it is expected, be supplemented as the need arises. A selection is also to be made of the best letters, speeches, proclamations, etc., of Simón Bolívar for the International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation, which will have them translated into English and French and will publish them as part of its programme of editing the most characteristic works of each Latin-American nation.

No. 44 of the *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* of Venezuela publishes an index to certain manuscripts of Antonio Leocadio Guzmán that are preserved in the national archives. It also contains an instalment of documents relating to Venezuelan colonial history, and reprints from the *Mercurio Peruano* an article by Victor A. Belaúnde concerning the constitution adopted by Bolivia in 1826. No. 45 of this bulletin prints a biography of Dr. Cristóbal Mendoza.

Nos. 31 and 32 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Venezuela publish instalments of indexes of documents in those archives concerning encomiendas in Venezuela, the colonial treasury, the intendancy, indexes of the correspondence of the captains general, 1786-1792; and a partial list of leaders of the South-American Revolution.

There has been reprinted from the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* of Caracas José E. Machado's annotated *Lista de Algunos Periódicos que Vieron la Luz en Caracas de 1808 á 1900* (Caracas, Vargas, 1929).

Emilio Uzcátegui García has just published from the Talleres Tipográficas Nacionales (Quito), the first part of a *Historia del Ecuador*. This part covers the period from the Inca age to the opening of the nineteenth century. The second part, which is in press, brings the story up to the present time.

A eulogistic biography of José Antonio Páez the lieutenant of Bolívar, who broke with him over the question of a separate Venezuela or of its

incorporation in La Gran Colombia, has been written by R. B. Cunningham Graham (London, Heinemann).

Noteworthy articles in the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* are the following: "La Sanidad en la Guerra de la Independencia", by J. Manulis; "En Pos del Verdadero Autor de 'El Lázaro'", by Ruben Vargas Ugarte; and "Peter Carney y el Crucero de 'La Argentina'", by Horacio Bossi Cáceres. It also contains a documented article entitled "El Decreto del 26 de Mayo de 1844 sobre las Escuelas de la Provincia de Buenos Aires" by Antonino Salvadores, and another by Eduardo Sánchez Arjona entitled "Crónica de la Apertura de la Segunda Audiencia de Buenos Aires (1785)". It contains notes concerning certain documents in the archives of Brazil, as well as an instalment of a list of documents in the national Argentine archives. It reprints a rare pamphlet from the Bibliothèque Nationale entitled "Questions sur Buenos-Ayres et les Provinces Unies de l'Amérique-Sud". No. XLII. of the valuable publications of this institute is a critical study of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* made under the direction of Professor Ricci.

Professor Ricci has also published a pamphlet with the title *Las Pictografías de Córdoba* (Buenos Aires, Kidd, 1928).

Ricardo Levene has recently published in the Biblioteca Humanidades two volumes entitled *Investigaciones acerca de la Historia Económica del Virreinato del Plata* (La Plata, 1927-1928).

The second volume of the *Revista de la Sociedad "Amigos de la Arqueología"*, of Montevideo, contains a documented monograph by Fernando Capurro concerning the Portuguese colony of Sacramento in colonial Uruguay.

W. S. R.

NOTEWORTHY REVIEWS

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